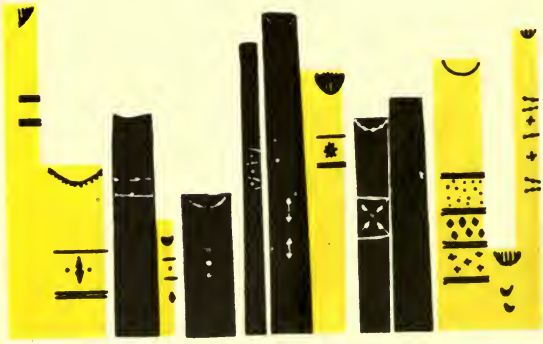
H-Ref.

reference collection book

kansas city
public library
kansas city,
missouri



PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

From the collection of the

Prelinger Library

San Francisco, California
2007

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

New Mexico Historical Review

Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

KANSAS CITY, MO.
PUBLIC LIBRARY
MAR 25 1958

January, 1958

Editors
FRANK D. REEVE PAUL A. F. WALTER
Associates
PERCY M. BALDWIN GEORGE P. HAMMOND
FRANCE V. SCHOLES ELEANOR B. ADAMS
ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON

VOL. XXXIII JANUARY, 1958 NO. 1

CONTENTS

Page

The Land of Shalam
K. D. Stoes 1

The Public Domain in New Mexico 1854-1891
Victor Westphall 24

El Cerrito, New Mexico: A Changing Village
Charles P. Loomis 53

Notes and Documents 76

THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. Frank D. Reeve, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/newmexicohistori33univrich

CONTENTS

NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1958

		Page
The Land of Shalam	K. D. Stoes	1
The Public Domain in New Mexico 1854-1891	Victor Westphall	24
El Cerrito, New Mexico: A Changing Village	Charles P. Loomis	53
Notes and Documents		76

NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1958

The Apache and the Government—1870's	Ralph H. Ogle	81
The Land of Shalam	*(concluded)* K. D. Stoes	103
The Public Domain in New Mexico 1854-1891	*(concluded)* Victor Westphall	128
Notes and Documents		144
Book Reviews		156

NUMBER 3, JULY, 1958

Adrian Woll: Frenchman in the Mexican Military Service	Joseph Milton Nance	177
Pecos Valley Pioneers	Francis G. Tracy, Sr.	187
Navaho-Spanish Wars 1680-1720	Frank D. Reeve	205
Notes and Documents		232
Book Reviews		252

NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1958

Page

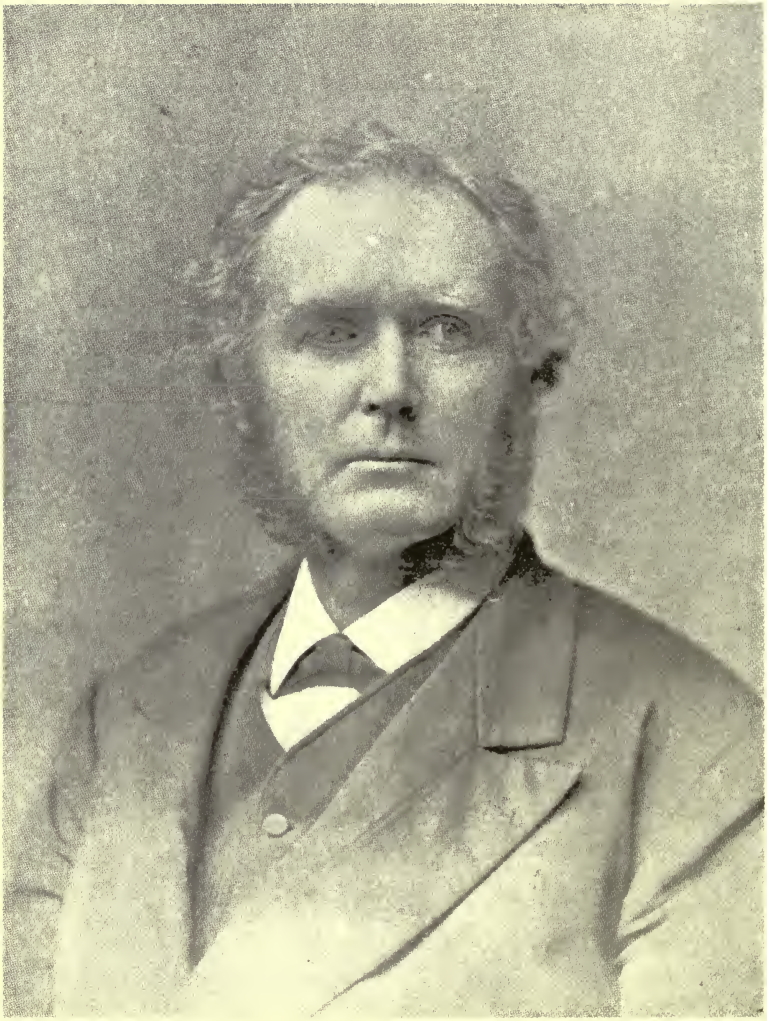
Curbing Militarism in Mexico
Edwin Lieuwen 257

George Curry and the Politics of Forest Conservation in New Mexico . . . . Elmo R. Richardson 277

The Report of Fray Alonso de Posada in Relation to Quivira and Teguayo
S. Lyman Tyler and H. Darrel Taylor 285

Notes and Documents 315

Book Reviews 328



DR. JOHN BALLOU NEWBROUGH

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXXIII JANUARY, 1958 No. 1

THE LAND OF SHALAM

By K. D. STOES

A Strange Experiment in Child Life

"TAKE the babes the world will not have to a place the world will not live and I will make of it a land of peace and plenty."

So directed the oracle, a strange command, amazingly decreed. There was no previous retirement to the silence of lonely mountains; no struggle in desert vastnesses; no burning bush nor serpent's rod preceded this 19th century injunction. Instead the pronouncement the Children's Land came to a man seated at a typewriter in New York City. But behind this Moses of the 1880's, as behind the Moses of Sinai, there lay years of study, meditation, and prayer.

There have been experiments in communal colonies for adult life in the United States; but there has been but one for cast-a-way infants, orphans, and unprotected children. Today the silent ruins of the Children's Land of Shalam in southern New Mexico is all that is left of a colossal venture in child life which was begun in 1882 by Dr. John Ballou Newbrough, founder and abbé of Shalam, Jehovah's Kingdom on Earth.

In New York's slums some eighty years ago Dr. Newbrough experienced a vision of the world redeemed through foundling children. Psychic control led him to found a children's colony near the village of Doña Ana on the Rio Grande in southern New Mexico, a desolate region which had echoed but lately to the war cry of the Apache. Almost a million dollars were spent in one of the strangest adventures in com-

munal living ever recorded. Some features were beyond the limits of human credulity. That the colony escaped little more than local publicity was due to its situation in the remote Spanish-speaking section of the United States; and to the desire of old New England aristocracy to clothe in silence the humiliation of defeat.

Dr. John Ballou Newbrough, spiritual sponsor of Shalam, was a man of commanding presence, six feet four inches in height, tipping the scales at 270 pounds. His large hazel eyes, broad forehead and sensitive mouth and chin bespoke the dreamer. Though a man strongly vigorous and of regnant poise, his manner was gentle and softly polished. His was a personality of rare proportion, and possessed of such magnetism that even his enemies and those who ridiculed his peculiar beliefs felt strangely drawn to him. All of which had a direct bearing on the Children's Land.

He was born June 5, 1828, in a log cabin near Springfield, Ohio, the son of an English father and a Swiss mother, and was named for the great Universalist preacher, John Ballou. The family had migrated from Virginia to the free lands of Ohio to escape the odium of slavery. He often spoke of the lovely home of his childhood under the grand old oaks and sycamores in whose shadows he dreamed, and first communed with angel spirits. The nearest neighbor was an Indian. John's playmates were Indian children.

The father, graduate of William and Mary College, was a stern man. He was of necessity the schoolmaster of the pioneer settlement. The mother, a gentle, soft-spoken woman, had become an ardent spiritualist in early life. When a small lad her son saw spirits and received messages. The father had no patience with such nonsense and John endured many a flogging for the unholy habit of intercourse with the spirit world. As a result, he turned to his mother for sympathy and understanding. However, after her death, the father received strange communications and ultimately became a convert.

During the middle and last part of the 19th century spiritualism had not only excited the rank and file of the common people of Europe and America, but it had captivated great

men and students — scholars of history, science, and sociology the world over. Its literature did, and still fills the stacks of city libraries. Many distinguished people have declared their conviction that human beings not only continue to live after "so-called death," but that communion with them is more or less common. Among such may be cited Gladstone, Balfour, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, physician; John Ruskin, physicist; William James, American psychologist and philosopher; and a host of others. Italian, German, and French scientists have admitted the genuineness of the phenomena of intelligent communication with the discarnate. Certainly Dr. Newbrough was swept, not only with the trend of spiritualistic research, but he was in the company of great minds.

John and his mother planned that he should become a physician, a profession badly needed in all parts of the new country. They sold wool and eggs, and John taught school. After years of sacrifice he was graduated from Cincinnati Medical College. For a time he followed his profession, but hypersensitive to scenes of suffering and death, he turned to dentistry, and removed to New York City.

While attending medical college in Cincinnati he had lived with the family of a dentist, and had made dental plates. On Saturdays he drove through the country taking impressions for plates. At this time the Goodyear Rubber Company owned exclusive patent to the composition used in the manufacture of dental plates. This composition it sold at a price prohibitive to the poor, who generally went toothless.

Young Newbrough brooded over this injustice, and resolved to develop a formula superior to that of Goodyear. This he accomplished while practicing dentistry in New York City, and gave it to the dental profession without benefit of patent. Consequently he was promptly sued by the Goodyear Company for infringement of patent; and the suit was carried to the higher court at Albany. The night preceding the trial John paced the floor in nervous fear, but after a time sought the counsel of friendly spirits. Soon the surrounding walls faded from consciousness, and he visioned himself in the court room, winning the case. He sat all night as in a

trance. The following morning, serene in his belief in spiritualistic assistance, he appeared in court to find the case decided in his favor.

His composition lessened the cost of dentures, and was in use by the dental profession for many years. It had cost the Doctor a goodly sum, but as a result of this experience, he financed many a young dentist over the first starvation months. At the same time he built himself a lucrative practice.

Dr. Newbrough was swept to California with the gold rush of 1849. Like a gaunt gray wolf the Asiatic cholera dogged the caravan. The trail across the plains was dotted with wayside graves. The young physician rode from camp to camp, nursing the sick and using every means available to stem the epidemic.

He was very successful in mining in California, and sent bags of gold dust home to his mother for their charities. He studied his new vocation with great interest, and in later years lectured on the amazing riches hidden within the earth. He became the champion of the Chinese who suffered many indignities and persecution in California. He defended them in the press and in newspaper articles, both on the coast and in New York. He declared the normal Chinaman to be more clean and honest than any other foreigner granted citizenship. He helped them manage their business affairs, and treated them when ill. In gratitude the Chinese Colony presented him with lacquers, porcelains, precious bric-a-brac, and silken robes. Throughout his life John B. Newbrough was a devotee of Chinese art.

While mining in California, the Doctor met John Turnbull, a Scot. The two became business partners, and together drifted to the gold fields of Australia where they made a considerable fortune. In 1859, en route to the United States, Newbrough visited Scotland, and there met Rachel, the sister of the Scot, and married her.

At home in New York City the Newbroughs lived at 128 West 43rd Street where the Doctor practiced medicine and dentistry for 23 years. Three children were born in this

home; one died in infancy. A son was graduated a civil engineer from Columbia University, and in 1886, at the age of 26 years, was surveying a railroad route through Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. A daughter became an artist and continued her residence with her mother.

After 27 years of marriage John and Rachel Newbrough separated. In 1886 he sued for a divorce in the courts of Doña Ana County, New Mexico. The causes as set forth in the bill of chancery show an alienation of affections as early as 1876, due to differences of habits and religious beliefs; and to her violent objections to his charities. He was a dedicated vegetarian, and a teetotaler in creed and in practice. She was fond of sumptuous living, especially of wines and beer. He stated to the court her destruction of his books and writings; and her refusal to live with him, although residing under the same roof. Finally she ordered him out of the home he had deeded to her, a property valued at $50,000. She was allowed $10,000 a year from his dental practice. As claimant he prayed not only for a divorce, but for an order of the court that would prevent her as defendant from having, or setting up claim to property which then, or might hereafter, belong to the Children's Colony at Shalam, in which he was interested. The divorce was granted and filed in the office of the county clerk on the 6th day of October, 1886, as Case No. 954.

During his many years of practice in New York City, Dr. Newbrough saw life at its harshest and driest. He was greatly moved by the useless waste of life and opportunity on every hand. He witnessed lives sacrificed for want of a few dollars; he beheld the beautiful and sensitive warped and crushed by the meanness of poverty; he was touched by the loneliness and misery of the foreigner; he noted social exclusions of the crassest cruelty — all within a stone's throw of massive Christian temples. He felt most keenly the ugly waste of the young. He believed the child to have the inherent right to live to maturity. He compiled statistics on child mortality in New York City, and found it to be some 7,000 annually — an appalling death rate. The failure of the

churches to meet Christian obligations; the amassing of idle property; and the selfish smugness of the membership turned him forever from an affiliation with them. During these years he gave two days a week to the alleviation of suffering and poverty in New York City.

He believed that for the perfection of the child parents should not cohabit during the sacred period of pregnancy. He advocated the most scrupulous care of the mother during gestation. He tried to interest moneyed people in education against disease and poverty — all of which proved him far ahead of his time. He personally made heavy sacrifice of time and money to help struggling widows with small children. A Brooklyn widow with two little children was provided food and fuel throughout a long cruel winter. A young Englishman named Burns was found dying of consumption — and destitute. He was removed to a comfortable apartment, and the doctor bathed and cooked and cared for him after office hours, and buried him in Greenwood Cemetery with brotherly love. A year later two members of the Burns' family came from England and presented him with a valuable watch in appreciation of his care for their loved one.

In 1870 Dr. Newbrough became a vegetarian. About this time he began systematic fasting; especially did he eschew all recreation and food when under stress, or indecision. He ate but one moderate meal a day except when under physical strain.

Directed by spirit control he traveled extensively through Europe and the Orient. He spent much time in religious research in China and Japan. He was drawn to the mysticism of Egypt and India. He was especially interested in the Sufis of Persia. The cultures of past peoples became his obsession, a study which led to his recognition as an authority on the sources of ancient religions.

A votary of Oriental art, he believed a beautiful setting to be stimulating to fine thinking and habits of living; and strove in his own life for the expression of beauty in his environment. He studied in rooms filled with flowers and singing birds, and would relax in the rich robes of Chinese and

Greek design. He lectured in England and America in vestments of scarlet and white, and Oriental combinations of color.

The Doctor's study of Eastern mysticism had fanned his desire for psychical truth into a passionate summons. Casting aside family objections and conventional thought, he labeled fear as crass ignorance; he believed the supernatural to be but natural law as yet thought unworthy of scientific investigation. He strove for the development of psychic power within himself. He had already attained to manifestations in which his hands would fly into tantrums, and would write messages in all directions, independent of his will. He had but to close his eyes to read with accuracy the printed page of a designated book in a library. Mediumistic circles declared him able to leave his body at will — to travel to distant places, and return with correct reports. At times a power would attack his tongue, eyes, and ears, and he would speak, see, and hear unaccountably. He would suddenly leave his companions to write dictation in strange tongues.

For two years Dr. Newbrough was a member of "The Domain," a spiritualistic colony at Jamestown, New York; and a Trustee of the New York State Spiritualistic Society. While a leader of these groups, he examined more than 200 mediums, putting them through the most severe tests of integrity. He would travel hundreds of miles to bring a noted medium under observation. He was neither satisfied with, nor interested in the chatter of deceased relatives. He wished to contact the minds of great men passed on — to learn the plan of the universe, of life's cause, or spiritual evolution.

The oracle of the Children's Land was forming, but it was as yet obeyant. Distressed with the character and limitations of spiritualistic manifestations, Newbrough became convinced that communication with the wise and worthy of the spirit world could better be attained through physical purification and a concentration of the mind on inner powers.

Already a vegetarian, he struck from his diet all milk and eggs, practiced the strictest chastity of body and mind, bathed twice daily, and worked with renewed vigor. Later he went even further in simplifying his diet, taking only such

foods as received the beneficent rays of the sun, thus eliminating all root vegetables.

For years he arose each morning at dawn for spiritual guidance. He believed this to be the hour when vibrations and thought transference would be least interrupted by confusions in the ether. After six years of this discipline he had reduced his giant frame from 270 to 160 pounds. He was free of physical ills, and his brain had cleared. Nerve currents had found healthier reflexes, and new vibrations were in evidence; verily he was born again.

As Dr. Newbrough had divined, he had reached a new and higher plane of communication. He speaks of the early 1880s: "The spirits hovering near me were clothed with sufficient materiality for me to see them. I had attained to hear angel voices around about me. I was directed to procure a typewriter — a new invention which writes like the keys of a piano. I applied myself to this invention with indifferent success. For two years angels (good spirits) propounded to me questions relative to heaven and earth that no mortal man could answer intelligently. One morning lines of light rested on my hands, extending downward like wires. Over my head were three pairs of hands fully materialized, while behind me an angel stood with hands on my shoulders. My fingers played over the typewriter with lightning speed. I was forbidden to read what I had written, and I had reached such religious ecstacy that I obeyed reverently. This same power visited me each morning. My hands kept on writing, writing. For 50 weeks this continued daily. Then I was told to publish the book which should be called OAHSPE, a Paneric word meaning Earth, Air, and Spirit. The peculiar illustrations were made with pencil under the same control. I was instructed to copy a few from 'The Saturn,' 'The Egypterian Ceremonies,' and other books.

"During all this time I pursued my vocation; nor had the diet or fasting to which I had subjected myself for the past 16 years detracted from my health. I am fully convinced that there are numberless persons who might attain to health and spiritual development if they would but practice the strictest adherence to the Highest Light."

To this revelation from another world, as written into *Oahspe*, Shalam, the Children's Land, owed its existence; for incorporated into *Oahspe* was the Book of Shalam.

After the revelation of *Oahspe* Dr. Newbrough became increasingly grave. Although his manner was quiet and polished, he was a stern disciplinarian and firm executive. If he thought persons vulgarly curious, he would freeze them with his bearing. His second wife, Frances Van de Water Sweet, never saw him angry but once; a man had called him a liar. She averred the Doctor to have been the most honest and fearless of men. In later years, she said, he lost interest in people not in sympathy with his work. He felt he could ill afford time spent in social amenities.

Exalted in spirit, his mind fed with what was stimulating, the author of the modern bible found himself unable to publish it. He had but lately purchased a country estate at Salsburg, Pennsylvania, for the reformation of a selective group of alcoholics for whom he felt the greatest pity. Again ahead of his time, he considered alcoholism a disease, and never passed a hopelessly intoxicated man without assisting him to security.

He had neglected his practice; his purse was lean. But, in answer to prayer, an anonymous gift of $2,000 "for your good works" reached him through the mail. Another bequest of $3,000 came from a man whose son he had treated through a dangerous illness. A roll of greenbacks was left at his door by a recent convert to spiritualism. Who could doubt the presence of ministering angels? A press was purchased, and the modern bible of *Oahspe* was printed by an association of seven converts whose names were withheld.

The responsibility of the revelation of *Oahspe* fell more heavily upon the Doctor as he worked toward the actualization of Shalam. He avoided people and fasted and labored with an intensity disregardful of purse or self. He lectured in New York City and London in temples which his eloquence had helped to build, and practiced the extraordinary rites and ceremonies as set forth in his modern bible. It was on the evening of October 20, 1882, that a number of people were assembled in his home to hear a review of *Oahspe*.

Subsequently a considerable group of converts established themselves at Woodside, New Jersey, and the fortunes of several disciples of the Doctor went into this socialistic experiment. It failed, but the leader, with fanatical zeal, gathered the personnel together at Pearl River, New York; and now they were nearer Shalam than they knew.

One morning soon after the publication of *Oahspe*, one of a family of America's most distinguished Quakers, just returned from Europe, entered New York's leading metaphysical publishing house to inquire what was new that was worthy of thought. The publisher replied: "There has recently been printed a most amazing Bible called Oahspe. It has created a great sensation, and is receiving the very interested attention of the press."

Andrew M. Howland, a scholarly Quaker of Haverford College and Harvard University, heir of a vast whaling industry, and a member of the wool firm of Howland, Luce, and Manning; double first cousin to Hetty Green; and devisee of the residuary estate of Sylvia Ann Howland of New Bedford, Massachusetts, bought a copy and sat all night reading, reading. He invited the author to visit him at his hotel, and there was formed a friendship strong enough to outlast life; to carry over after death.

The following Sunday Mr. Howland sat spell-bound under the eloquence of Dr. Newbrough, and became a convert to the tenets of *Oahspe*, the most fantastic religious and literary tome of a century — a new bible for a new age.

Be it understood Dr. Newbrough was no hypnotist; he catered to no travesties; no decoys baited him. And Andrew Howland was no guileless visionary. Instead both were men of the world, students of life's meaning — educated, cultured, traveled, sophisticate. And both were in deepest truth mystics and reformers. *Oahspe* was their spiritual inspiration. The Children's Land as outlined in *Oahspe* had become their dedication.

The word *Oahspe*, meaning Earth, Sky and Spirit, is of Paneric derivation and traces back to the continent of Pan lying submerged between the islands of Japan and North America. The first edition of *Oahspe* printed in 1882 num-

bered 3,000 copies and was sold out immediately. Spiritualism was very strong at this time.

Briefly, this modern bible is the most incredible feat of automatic writing of record. The labors of an Ezra were small compared to a review of *Oahspe* at the dawn of the 20th century. The style is Biblical; some parts follow history closely. It is admittedly a revelation for the modern world — and emancipation from the dogmas, creeds, and cults that have long warped the spirit of man. It carries no twaddle of hero-worship to divert; instead it freshens faith into the victory toward which men climb. Granted a belief in the immortality of the soul and the existence of brother and sister souls thousands of years departed this earth, spirits recorded from the Genesis of Jewish theocracy to the blast of the Seventh Trumpet of the New Testament, why a skepticism if they break the silence to later generations in answer to prayer for Light? Angels admittedly have always been about; are still a part of religious ceremonial.

There was at the Nativity a host of ministering angels broadcasting the message of "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Men." There was St. Michael and All Angels; the angel that rolled the rock away — and hundreds of recorded evidences of the presence of ministering spirits. Kings and nations have stressed a belief in Jeanne d' Arc. Wireless communiques heed neither distance nor solidity nor time. Certainly the power of man's spirit is not bound by the senses; and why not a new faith in the spirits of men departed? — an interplay of the patterns of life and death. A member of the Masonic fraternity has stated to his brethren: "Whether or not the fact that Dr. Newbrough was a Mason or had anything to do with the philosophy propounded in Oahspe I do not know. But within its pages I have found more Light on what I would like to consider true Masonry than in any other book or Lodge during my quarter of a century of seeking further Light."

Substantially *Oahspe* purports to be a sacred history of the higher and lower heavens for the past 24,000 years, together with a synopsis of the cosmogony of the universe;

the creation of the planets; the creation of man and unseen worlds; and the labors of gods and goddesses in the ethereal heavens. It carries new and altered words; it adopts Paneric words, as well as those of Chinese and Japanese derivation. Light, heat, and magnetism are treated as one and the same. The laws of gravity, polar magnetism, and capillary attraction are challenged by the Elder Brothers in Paradise. Actinic energy is heat.

The higher ether is held to contain minerals, gasses, and utilities as yet unknown to scientists and astronomers. Vortexian currents, personal and national cycles, laws of color, sex determination, and rules and design for those who would prophesy are propounded.

"There are etherian world, habitable both within and without; there are atmospherean heavens given unto the keeping of thy God. Laws that were good yesterday are worthless today. The lawyers have not lessened the rascality of the wicked, nor have the physicians lessened sickness on earth. What healed the sick yesterday, will not heal tomorrow. Religions that were good for the ancients are worthless today. Philosophy that was good yesterday is folly today.

"We pray, but not one of us puts forth a hand to accomplish what we pray for. . . ."

Oahspe relieves the creator of all theological encomium; or useless tirade. The Infinite has no favorites among his children. There are no labeled Christians — no segregation under the banners of Brahma, Buddha, Confucius or Christ; no call to Israel, Mecca or Calvary.

Oahspe makes no boast to inspiration; instead it asserts that its tenets have been revealed to many mortals. It does not shock the common sense unless teaching how to hear the Creator's voice, and to see his heavens in full consciousness while still living on this earth, is an offense.

In the Book of Man there is the cry for Light. *Oahspe* values "Liberty first to all peoples; then discipline and harmony." It pictures thousands of spirits as victims of wrong government; it portrays, as assigned by the Creator, a vast protecting host to Washington, Jefferson, Hancock, Paine, Franklin, and Carroll in the struggles for freedom of govern-

ment. It carries the sting of irony anent behavior, government, and war.

No attribute of man is boasted over that of beasts and creeping things, except the power to destroy.

"I cannot live in the harmony of the bee. The half of my offspring die in infancy; the multitude of my householders are quarrelers; my towns are filled with fighting and drunkards and beggars; my sons and daughters are less faithful than the dog. For one rich there are a thousand poor, while there is plenty for all.

"All religions have not raised one righteous city because the state is rotten, and the politician feedeth thereon. Because society is rotten the lawyers and courts have riches. Because the flesh of the people is rotten the physician findeth a harvest of comfort.

"My wars accurse the earth with starvation, sin, and untimely death. By the cunning of my words I have taught youth that my foreign brother is inferior, and an enemy; that to fall upon him and destroy him is patriotism. To generals who show skill in killing I build monuments, and inscribe upon them bloody victories; to my colonels I give badges of gold. I call to the damsels, saying: 'Come, a great honor I give you; you shall dance with the officers of death.' I build colleges for the training of bloodshed. I whet popular pride by saying: 'See what fine standing armies we have.' But I say unto you no Lord or God shall ever be established by the sword."

The angels of Oahspian communication have neglected neither history, the sciences, nor governments. There is the submersion of Pan, the significance of the Great Pyramid, the tradition of races, the origin of religions, the derivation of languages, the rise and fall of civilizations, the forces governing man, amazing prophecy, and the great changes and confusions that will test the fiber of a modern world. Freedoms are stressed; tariffs are down. Monopolies and cartels are interdicted.

In Oahspian revelation the All Highest Light, the Creator, is named Jehovah. Gods and goddesses abound in infinity; angels are begotten of both heaven and earth, but are to be

seen no more of men. There are those spirits who desire no resurrection; and other spirits who have never left the earth and are bound to mortals. Both angels and mortals are graded. There is recognition of the positive and negative forces, male and female.

One is introduced to atmospherean and ethereal ships carrying hundreds of millions of angels to infinite etherea — to fire ships; to star ships halting at vortenian currents, then speeding upward to heaven; to sun ships; to music ships propelled by vibratory chords; to others attuned to sound waves; to arrow ships propelled as a rocket by constant emissions from the hulk, and expenditure manufactured by men skilled in wielding the elements; to arrow ships, messengers of speed; to new fleets with wings; to Ometer of swift rising; to the ships of Litabaka with speed recorded at 400 million miles daily; and Koaloo, a ship almost as vast as a world. Ship lanes are mapped for control of increasing traffic through etherea.

It is impossible to give any idea of the magnitude of the revelation embodied in this modern bible — its strange words, its baffling plates and symbols; its scientific adjustments, its psychic possibilities and prophecies at the close of the 19th century. Certain it is that some of the concepts and teachings were in advance of the time. Some of the prophecies are taking form under present-day achievements. Max Müller, famous Orientalist and scholar, has stated that there exist no known sources from which certain of the information in this book could have been obtained. Had there been, he concludes, it would have taken the combined lives of twenty men to cull and edit its contents.

Dr. James Hyslop, secretary of the American Society for Psychical Research, studied *Oahspe* with growing wonder, and with the conviction that if the book were not from "The Other Side," it is still evidence of a subliminal capacity in Dr. Newbrough. He made several attempts to secure an intimate knowledge of the author, but his requests were never granted. Dr. Hyslop stressed it to be the duty of the family to preserve all the facts of Dr. Newbrough's life. The writer has a letter from the Society for Psychical Research out-

lining the data they wished to secure on Dr. Newbrough's life and experiences in the world of spiritualism. British Psychical Societies were interested.

Reviewers of the time claimed this bible, if true, to be the greatest book ever written. If false, a cruel and stupendous hoax. Some critics indicted it as a compilation of ancient philosophy and historical revamps, and Dr. Newbrough as a monstrous mountebank. Several outstanding scholars accepted it as a revelation from the higher discarnate intelligences; and backed their faith with their wealth and their talents. Today in an era of atomic research and atmospheric potentialities, many Oahspian converts (and there are many) study its 900 pages with great hope for the union of science with spirit. Strangely *Oahspe* has attracted many scholarly physicians.

Viewed from every angle of intimate knowledge of the character of the medium of this strange tome, his personal adherence to truth, his business integrity, his vicarious sacrifice of wealth and self, his hatred of sham and notoriety, it would seem that he would be the last person to live and to teach behind the mask of deceit. Those who knew him best believed that behind his search for spirit revelation lay the profoundest hope of the human heart — the solving of the plan of the universe, and the linking of this life with the next.

In the year 1883 a convention of leading spiritualists was held in New York City. The purpose was to found a communal colony devoted to the care of foundlings and orphaned children as directed in Oahspe's Book of Shalam. These dedicated converts to the doctrines as revealed to Dr. Newbrough called themselves Faithists of the seed of Abraham. There were subjective spiritualists who affiliated with the world's peoples and pursued their earthly vocations for self's sake; but the objective spiritualists were those abjuring self and uniting themselves in brotherhood that others might survive. Such an objective brotherhood of Faithists was proposed for Shalam, the Children's Land. And Dr. Newbrough, author of their bible and the medium of the convention, was voted the natural leader. A tribute to the Doctor's eloquence and mag-

netism, there went forth from this gathering many rich and gentle souls pledged to the resurrection of man through the world's cast-a-way children. Andrew M. Howland was destined to be the most faithful disciple, and financier.

There was immense hope for the Children's Land. Shalam, as voted, was to be the initial colony of babes from which a new and better race would evolve. And so it came about that in the summer of 1884, two men with the heritage of great dreams set out in quest of the "unoccupied land by the river" of Oahspian prophecy. The tall man, fasting to purification of mind and body, was Dr. John B. Newbrough of New York City, world traveler, mystic, physician and philanthropist, and a power in American and English spiritualistic circles. His companion-disciple was Andrew M. Howland.

Sites in the Virginias were considered, but the southern people looked with disfavor on spiritualism; locations in California and Arizona failed to conform to the vision; a tract of 1,000 acres in northern Mexico was refused because of the instability of the government. When in stalemate, friendly spirits lent a helping hand and drew attention to the fertile valley of the Rio Grande in southern New Mexico.

Here in the small village of Las Cruces Dr. Newbrough conferred with brother Masons regarding available lands — this much is factual. However, old timers were wont to allege with romantic fervor, that one morning as the pink of sunrise cleared over the mountains, a tall man, eyes bandaged against sight, drove north to the waste lands of mesquite and desert shrub, adjacent to the village of Doña Ana, and there made sudden stop. Guiding spirits had recognized the land of prophecy — "the place the world would not live."

Be that as it may, the deed to the first land that was to receive "the babes the world would not have" was purchased October 4, 1884, by Andrew M. Howland, with the warmth of a great hope. The tract was a part of the Doña Ana Bend Colony Grant. Further lands were acquired by Howland in small tracts and mortgage deeds from John D. Barncastle, who had picked up small acreages from the native settlers. None was irrigable.

The site lay on the east bank of the Rio Grande, shadowed by naked mountains that hugged the river to the west, and was situated between the river and the Santa Fe railway that whistled a stop for Doña Ana. It was a wilderness of arid land in a horse-shoe bend of a reckless, changing river. The acres were virgin, capable of yielding crops of two zones; and of crop rotation. It is doubtful, however, if the Faithist leaders had questioned as to the character of the river, and the distance of the land from established irrigation canals.

The Rio Grande, although carrying a delta of fertility, was in fact a rampaging torrent of spring flood, shifting its channels willy-nilly; or spreading over a vast valley, but to dry into a sandy bottom when crops were readying into late summer.

It was a new land and a cruel land, dependent upon a cruel river. But certain it is there were no quibbles in the minds of the Faithist leaders at this time. It was a perfect setting for Shalam's directed experiment. Here children, segregated, controlled as to diet, guarded as to passions, and strangers to the precept, "this is mine," would grow into a righteous race. Within this environment they would experience no racial or class distinctions; there would be no greed, no money-getters, no bribing against law. There would be hewing of life through flesh and blood; no cliques of iniquity; no vicious trafficking. Health and clearness of mind would result from an herbaceous diet. Shalam was to be no hothouse of stirpicultural breeding.

It was late October, 1884, when Dr. Newbrough (turned 56 years of age) and twenty disciples reached the Land of Shalam by the River and pitched their tents among the desert shrub. Here these first Faithists, with more courage than judgment, settled down to assigned tasks. They were people of wealth, gently bred, and terribly in earnest. At first they slept on the ground, shaking lizards, centipedes, and insect novelties from their bedding when they retired; and emptying their shoes of various creeping things at dawn. All through the nights their nerves were a-jangle with the calls of wild animals — coyotes, wild cats and skunks that roved the loneliness — the while the river rolled and gurgled its

muddy waters. It was no life for the gently bred; indeed it was a test of heroic endurance for a creed of self-effacement.

Andrew M. Howland of Massachusetts aristocracy in kitchen apron, recipes at hand, fed from twenty to thirty people. He cooked in the open and all ate in the open. They were obliged to drink the muddy river water settled in barrels until a well could be sunk. A small pump bought by Dr. Newbrough to pump water from the river was sucked under by quicksand and lost. There was dismay, but no let-down of spirit. There was always the challenge of the great purpose.

Mexican neighbors helped them to construct out-door ovens, and introduced them to the many uses of Mexican corn as table food; to the frijole bean and red chili; to sweet potatoes and dried fruits. Peloncillo, an unrefined Mexican sugar, found way to their table.

The first action of Andrew Howland was the purchase of a car of groceries that relieved their limited diet. There was no refrigeration, and railway service undependable. That first winter was a test of their durability. Several, unused to harsh living, died and were buried at a lovely spot in the Doña Ana mountain.

These heralds of the Children's Land learned much of survival and lean living from the native Mexicans. Some 250 workmen from Doña Ana made the sunbaked adobes for the first shelters. Dr. Newbrough worked with hammer and saw and cement. Finally a few two-room adobe houses were available. Almost at once Dr. Newbrough started work on the Fraternum which was to house them all.

In 1885 Dr. Howland came from Boston to Shalam to stay. Dr. Newbrough was gaining a few disciples, willing to follow where he might lead. Pearl River Colony in New York had become a rendezvous for the exodus of Faithists to New Mexico and Shalam. Frances Van de Water Sweet, destined to become the mother of Shalam, had come with the first tented group; she had put her all into the venture, even to family silver, jewels, and linens.

We find the name under which the Faithists of Shalam wrote their charter to be "The First Church of Tae" — Tae meaning the spiritual man as embodied in the leader, Dr.

MRS. FRANCES VAN DE WATER
NEWBROUGH-HOWLAND

Newbrough. "He it is who founds the Father's Kingdom on earth; who gathers the orphan babes; who takes his people to an unoccupied country." Fourteen articles were incorporated in this charter which was signed by 22 Faithists.

The cost to Howland for 1,490 acres of the uncleared lands of Shalam, up to this time, was about $4,500. There was also some $20,000 which he had spent in the interests of the colony. About this time he made a deed of trust of the entire property to the First Church of Tae, a corporation, the purpose of which was to enable the organization of Tae to carry on the general and specific purposes described in the Articles of Incorporation. This conveyance carried certain absolute conditions the violation of which would void the bequest. The deed is signed by Andrew M. Howland, John R. Newbrough, Henry S. Tanner, Jesse M. Ellis, and Frances V. Sweet. It, with the charter, was filed in the county clerk's office in Las Cruces, December 28, 1885, at 11 o'clock A.M. Several deeds of trust and re-covenants are also of record.

The Children's Land was attacked with the aplomb of the fanatic. It was humanitarian in ideology, agrarian in plan, vegetarian in diet; and it was non-warrior. The structure consisted of an outer and an inner council. The Faithist brought no letter of character; neither did he declare himself as at Amana, Iowa, a German communal colony of seven villages, contemporaneous with Shalam. Instead, applicants were required to enter into the Holy Covenant: "I covenant Thee, Jehovih, that since all things are Thine, I will not own or possess exclusively unto myself anything under the sun which may be entrusted to me, which any person, or persons may covet, desire, or stand in need of. . . ." It was agreed that no persons covenanted should receive any payment or compensation for his or her services except food, lodging, clothes, laundry and attendance if ill; nor should any property, income, or profits accrue to any person. No meat, fish, butter, eggs, cheese, or animal food might be used on the property of Shalam, except that milk be given to children under six years of age. At least five orphans were to be adopted each year. No intoxicating liquors, tobacco, or opium, or other narcotics should ever be used on the premises except

under the direction of a physician approved by the Trustees. No adults except invalids might have more than two meals a day, the object being to raise a spiritually-minded race.

All were barred who worshipped any lord, god, or savior born of woman. The doctor, lawyer, preacher, or politician who desired to live by his wits was excluded. Tariffs and national legislation, as well as international boundaries, were abolished from the Faithists creed. Capital and Labor should live under just decisions.

Between 1885 and 1890 Shalam's welcome to disciples was broadcast through tracts, almanacs and newspaper media: "Ah for a home under Jehovih's plan that the wise, the good, and the learned may find a fact mightier than all the books in the world!"

As a result of such alluring advertisements, the founders of Shalam collected about themselves a varied personnel — some sincere folk of education and refinement, some strong, fine and loyal characters. But there came adventurers, religious fanatics of dubious faiths, habitual new creeders, and a few mentally deficient. Many came lured by the hope of "something for nothing." There was provided accommodation for 100 souls; they came and went. The reason why the colony did not increase probably being because of the extreme asceticism required, and rigidly practiced by the faithful few. Because Dr. Newbrough was a strong man of disciplinary habit, and Andrew Howland as a rock in the desert land, the colony existed through its small minority. Often the Doctor, the abbé of Shalam, was nearer the Perfectionists of Oneida Colony in far New York than he knew.

Many Eastern people gave liberally to the Children's Land. Family silver and heirlooms followed the Faithists into the fusion of purpose. Dr. Gustave Percival Wicksell of Boston, one of those first tent pioneers, was a distinguished scholar, lecturer, and a medium of recognized integrity. Other prominent men interested in this experiment with childlife were Bates of Cobb, Bates, and Yerxa; Wannamaker; Dr. Porter of the Nickel Magazine; Hatfield, the artist; Dr. Johnson of the Educator Cracker Company; and M. S. Ayer of Spiritual Temple fame.

Dr. Newbrough remarried. The Doña Ana County Records, Book I, page 28, Office of the District Clerk, certify that J. B. Newbrough and Frances V. Sweet were married on the 28th day of September, 1887, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Order of Faithists. The document records the marriage at Shalam. Witnesses were A. M. Howland, Mattie Patterson, Walter Sigley Shepherd, and Joseph Grill.

A story of the courtship of Dr. Newbrough illustrates his devotion to children. Taking the hand of his fiance, he placed a valuable ring upon her finger. "Dear Frances," he said, "here is a ring to adorn your hand, but its price will save the life of a child, and care for it properly. It is your own, but do you care more for it than for the life of a little one?" The father of Shalam had tested the mother of Shalam, and had received the answer he wished. He had selected wisely the mother of Shalam; more wisely than he then knew, for Mrs. Newbrough was a woman of great strength of character and a natural leader. She soon became the power behind her husband in matters temporal, and was never found wanting in support of his doctrines.

Soon after the erection of Shalam's first buildings, Dr. and Mrs. Newbrough opened a receiving home for foundlings in the old McCann block in New Orleans, between Clay and Laurel streets. From the ceiling of the long gallery a Chinese censer containing a ruby light was suspended, and so arranged that the full glow fell on the invitation: "Children Wanted and No Questions Asked." A baby crib stood significantly near. Furtive shadows crept to lay tiny forms within its softness. Some in grief knocked and entered to weep less when they were assured that loving hearts would care for their infants; that before God all children were legitimate; and no distinction made as to race or color. Later, other receiving stations were maintained in Chicago, Kansas City, and Philadelphia. Indeed, police were happy to turn over helpless waifs to the Children's Colony.

The first ten foundlings, all less than six months old, were transferred from New Orleans to Shalam by Mrs. Newbrough and a colored maid in a chartered pullman. It was hot and they were harassed by lack of fresh milk and proper

refrigeration. Kindly brakemen and newsies walked the aisles with colicky babies while the women caught an occasional nap. Dr. Newbrough, fearful of an epidemic of yellow fever, soon followed with three infants. Passengers and train crew vied in aid to the Doctor. They whistled and sang and patted the tiny tads into periods of quiet.

Later Andrew Howland shouldered his responsibility. We quote from the Kansas City Star: "Passengers on the Santa Fe train for New Mexico will be witness to the curious sight of an old man with a mass of iron gray hair and whiskers, glittering blue eyes, in charge of nine babies of all colors. This man is A. M. Howland, known as Tae to a sect or cult who call themselves Faithists. . . . These Faithists are socialistic vegetarians who have adopted a system of securing orphan foundling infants, and raising them at a home in New Mexico called Shalam. This silent man with the hair and whiskers, and clothes as primitive as possible without offense to the city eye, attracted much attention. He never said a word until one day a city salesman, looking for a man from New Mexico who wanted to buy sewer pipe, asked him: "Are you the man from New Mexico who is here to buy sewer pipe?"

"No sir," said Howland, "I am here to get babies."

"The city salesman looked at him in blank astonishment, and murmured his excuses. Father Tae had secured nine babies through the police matron, Mrs. Lee. These Faithists have a sort of bible called Oagspe, which orders this infant educational scheme." The Star reporter then follows with excerpts from the Book of Jehovih's Kingdom on Earth.

Three of the first 13 infants died. There were gathered between 1887 and 1900 some fifty small children who represented "the babes the world would not have." They ranged from African to Chinese. But all were beloved under the tenets of the Faithists. Little, if anything, was known of their parentage; and nothing was placed of record. All laws of heredity were discountenanced. All received Oahspian names.

There were many glints of sunshine for the overworked faithful of the colony. Dr. Newbrough adored the children.

He delighted to see his wife surrounded by the little tots. Calling her, "My Precious One," he would say to her: "Could you but see the angel spirits gather in love about you and the babies, it would fill your heart with radiance." He suffered keenly when they were ill, and was undone for days when one died, sobbing in sorrow that a young life should be cut off. When little Hiatisi, now nearing three score and ten, lay in his arms dying, great tears fell on the baby hands, and placing the tiny wasted body in his wife's arms, he pleaded, "You pray. Ask for spiritual manifestation of healing wisdom." Soon the spirits, hovering near, came in increased numbers, and more real, and a remedy was revealed to the mind of the Doctor. Little Hiatisi was saved to rear four stalwart lads. When Astraf, the "Little Cock Sparrow," a tiny Mexican waif, died, he missed her wee face smiling up at him.

(To be continued)

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN IN NEW MEXICO 1854-1891

By VICTOR WESTPHALL*

WHEN William Pelham, the first Surveyor General of New Mexico, arrived in Santa Fe on December 28, 1854, he had already been in office nearly five months, having been appointed by President Franklin Pierce with tenure to start on August first of that year. The office had been created by an Act of Congress approved July 22, 1854. The chain of command from President Pierce to Mr. Pelham consisted of Robert McClelland, the Secretary of the Interior, and John Wilson, the commissioner of the General Land Office.

Pelham was in Washington City, as our national capital was then called, when he received his appointment. He left Washington near the end of August and traveled to New Orleans by way of Cincinnati and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. His journey then took him by steamship to Port Lavaca where he departed on the most perilous as well as time-consuming portion of his journey.

His trek to San Antonio was uneventful; but, from here it was necessary to traverse the country of the dreaded Comanches. Fortunately for Pelham's safety he was able immediately upon arrival at San Antonio to make connections with Major Emory's Boundary Commission, which was traveling to El Paso in the pursuance of its task of running and marking the line established between Mexico and the United States. The trip to El Paso took nearly six weeks, the party arriving at that location on December 4, 1854.

Within a few days he set out on a reconnaissance of the Rio Grande Valley to select a suitable point for the intersection of the principal meridian and the base line.

In his instructions to the Surveyor General, Commissioner John Wilson was understandably lacking in detailed knowledge of the wild frontier of this new Territory, and thus he allowed the Surveyor General considerable leeway in the exe-

* This paper is based on Dr. Westphall's dissertation, Department of History, University of New Mexico, 1956. Ms.

cution of his duties. He stated as a desideratum that the principal meridian should run near the suburbs of Santa Fe and that the base line interesect it possibly as far south as a point fifty miles east of the junction of the Rio Grande and the Rio Puerco. An alternate suggestion allowed, if expedient, the fork of the Rio Grande and the Rio Puerco as the junction point. This would place the principal meridian about fifty miles west of Santa Fe.

Surveyor General Pelham followed the second suggestion. "Agreeably to your instructions I selected a hill about six miles below the mouth of the Puerco river, which is two hundred feet high and of a rocky formation. This hill is nearly round, and is washed at its base by the Rio Grande. I have therefore established this hill as the initial point, and have caused a suitable monument to be erected on its summit."

His choice was probably dictated by expediency. Having made his approach from the south, it is assumed that he knew little about the terrain west of Santa Fe where his choice placed the principal meridian, nor is it likely that he was acquainted with the land 50 miles east of the junction of the Rio Grande and the Rio Puerco, where Commissioner Wilson's first proposal would have placed the principal meridian. It was simply convenient to place the initial point within the main traveled reaches of the Rio Grande Valley.

Having established an office at Santa Fe as passably as was possible under the circumstances, the Surveyor General set about the duties that he had traveled so long and wearily to commence. On the 9th of March, 1855, he let his first contract (for the survey of the principal meridian from near the Jemez Mountains to the southern border, and base line for 24 miles on either side of the principal meridian). Pelham's choice of a deputy for this work was John W. Garretson, "a surveyor of acknowledged ability, energy and experience and . . . a gentleman of respectability and integrity." Garretson had previously worked for Pelham when the latter was Surveyor General of Arkansas.

After signing the contract for surveying the base line and principal meridian, Garretson gathered together his materials and his surveying crew. He was required to furnish all

supplies and materials with the exception of a *standard chain* with which to compare his own from time to time. This chain had not yet arrived from the East, so Garretson delayed his departure for the initial point of survey until March 26. Even then the standard chain was not at hand but he hoped that it would be soon and could be forwarded to him. He waited in vain and finally sent two of his men posthaste to El Paso to get one of the chains awaiting shipment to the Surveyor General.

While Garretson's men were on their way to El Paso, he and the rest of his crew were busy locating and monumenting the initial point of survey selected by Pelham on the west bank of the Rio Grande about six miles south of the junction of the Rio Grande and the Rio Puerco and about 120 chains (a chain is 66 feet) northwest of Lajoya.

On April 14, Garretson's messengers returned from El Paso with the standard chain. The following day, surveying was started on the principal meridian south from the initial point. After surveying 60 miles, operations had to be suspended because there was no water on the *Jornada del Muerto*. By the 27th of April the surveying party had returned to the initial point and started the survey of the principal meridian northward.

Meanwhile, Surveyor General Pelham, in the press of other duties, had not completed his special instructions to Deputy Surveyor Garretson and intended to send them later. As a consequence, after having surveyed 48 miles of the principal meridian north of the base line, Garretson learned of a serious error he had committed. He had surveyed 108 miles of the principal meridian while using the wrong length for the standard chain. He had included the handles in his measure while only the space between the rivets on the handles was the proper measure. It was not only necessary to resurvey the work, but it was essential that the old monuments be destroyed.

Surveyor General Pelham had been instructed to survey only in areas toward which settlement was tending and to survey only township exterior boundaries in areas unfit for

cultivation. Commissioner John Wilson had informed him that the great body of settlements would presumably be found in the valley of the Rio Grande. This was in general true; nevertheless, the first requests for surveys by actual settlers came in 1855 from the region of Fort Stanton and the confluence of the Rios Bonito and Ruidoso. However, Pelham decided against surveys here in favor of those on the Conchas and Canadian rivers where rapid settlement was expected. His decision was based, in part, on the isolation of the Fort Stanton area, the dangers from Indian attack, and the difficulties of crossing the San Andres Mountains with the second standard parallel south. The last-named line would be necessary to tie in this region with the public surveys in progress. No surveys were made in the Fort Stanton area until 1867.

Pelham was given wide discretionary powers in the selection of areas to be surveyed. His suggestions in the matter were never questioned; however, in the fall of 1857 he asked for, and received, permission to make surveys without application to the General Land Office. He wanted to choose his own survey locations to avoid the long delay of having them selected in Washington. The granting of this request is significant because it shows great faith in Pelham's judgment and because it was not accorded to any of his successors. More important was Pelham's choice of survey locations under this permission.

The administration of the public lands in the United States was inaugurated at a time and place when and where all land was available, in varying degrees, for agricultural purposes. In New Mexico this was not true and yet the Government did not change the policy. From the beginning the policy in New Mexico was to survey only land that was agricultural in the sense that it would grow crops. The entire question of land arability was variously interpreted by different Commissioners and Surveyors General. Pelham started out with a strict interpretation but, as he became acquainted with the land and the people, his definition broadened to the inclusion of pasture lands.

Having been forewarned that he would probably find the bulk of the settlements to be in the Rio Grande Valley, in 1856 Pelham turned his attention to surveys there. His interpretation of what constituted the Rio Grande Valley took in an area of roughly thirty-six miles in width. Only a small portion of this land could be cultivated but, as he explains, there was the factor of co-ordinating the survey of private land claims and also future public surveys. There seems to be another reason why these townships were subdivided.

Much of the area surveyed was in the *Jornada del Muerto* and could grow no crops. Why then was there any excuse for subdividing the area? The answer lies in a strong possibility of artesian well development at the time. This was suggested, in 1855-56, by Brevet Captain John Pope who had been assigned by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to discover the possibilities of artesian well development near the 32d parallel of latitude in connection with possible railroad development.

Pelham believed that artesian well development would cause settlement of the regions involved. In view of Pope's findings, he had to consider both the lower Pecos and *Jornada* areas. The lower Pecos Valley was out of the question for surveys because of its inaccessibility and danger from Indian attack. This left the *Jornada* — an area north of the prosperous and productive Mesilla Valley. An abundance of artesian well water would have caused an influx of population and justified the surveys there.

Important surveys under Pelham extended to other regions. In September of 1857 the Surveyor General received a petition from a large number of persons requesting the survey of the area known as the *Valles* about forty miles northwest of Santa Fe.

On March 13, 1858, a contract was let with R. E. Clements for the survey of a large block of exterior township boundaries in the upper Pecos Valley. That same year surveys were made near Galisteo where settlements by claimants under the Donation Laws had been disputed since 1855.

Alexander P. Wilbar, Chief Clerk under Pelham, was appointed to the office of Surveyor General on August 29, 1860.

He was to serve but little over a year, when he was replaced because of the Republican administration of Abraham Lincoln. His predecessor had resigned. Charges of extravagance were later used to ease Wilbar out.

The most significant surveying matter under Wilbar was the San Juan Valley in present New Mexico, an area that was much discussed but into which no surveys were extended. Early in 1861 Wilbar asked Captain Charles Baker for a report on the region. Baker's report on the settlements and mines there was so favorable that Wilbar promised to report to the Government with a view to having surveys made in the vicinity. The early promise of the region, however, was not permanent. It was soon almost wholly abandoned by miners as the difficulty of importing provisions became apparent, and as the mines failed to materialize as expected. Hostility of the Indians also proved to be a strong deterrent to permanent settlement.

John A. Clark, of Freeport, Illinois, was commissioned Surveyor General for the usual four-year term on July 26, 1861, and he took charge on October 9th during the troubled times of the Civil War. Annual surveys dwindled until from 1863 through 1866 there were none at all. Thus the first years of Clark's administration were taken up largely with reconnoitering the Territory and making plans for surveys. Actual surveys were limited by Indian hostilities, and lack of military protection, to the vicinity of Fort Stanton, the Hondo River, and the Mimbres Valley.

The chief feature of Clark's administration was a determined effort to abide by the governmental policy of surveying only truly arable land. He personally examined these areas to make sure of selecting only land suitable for settlement and cultivation. He believed that, except for a few townships on the Canadian River, not *one per cent* of the land then surveyed in New Mexico could ever be cultivated. This was undoubtedly a reflection on Pelham's surveys on the *Jornada del Muerto.*

Dr. T. Rush Spencer took charge of the surveyor general's office on May 15, 1869. Surveys made under Spencer were not extensive. He proposed surveys on the San Juan, Cimarron,

Canadian, Pecos rivers, and near Fort Wingate, and in southwest New Mexico. Actually his surveys were confined to a region on the upper Pecos River, north of the Bosque Redondo Indian Reservation, and in southwest New Mexico. In the Pecos region he made some attempt to confine surveyed areas to the demands of actual settlers, while in southwest New Mexico his activities were governed by pressures from newly discovered mines.

James K. Proudfit, a native of Madison, Wisconsin, assumed the duties of Surveyor General on September 30, 1872. His administration is marked by a struggle for constantly increased survey appropriations at a time when Congress was calling for retrenchment. In 1874 he asked for $125,000 for surveys, but Commissioner Drummond in his estimate to Congress requested only $40,000. Drummond pointed out that in New Mexico from 1855 through 1873 upwards of $440,000 had been spent for surveying 4,860,410 acres of land, while the area disposed of by the Government, up to June 30, 1873, by homestead entry, cash sales, etc., was less than 150,000 acres. There was an ample back-log of surveyed land to take care of any reasonably sudden demand, but Proudfit attempted to prove that it was not. He pointed out that there had not been a great demand for land but that the day was rapidly approaching when this would change. Indian depredations had largely ceased, permitting expansion into new areas. In time past settlers were able to purchase land from private grants, but now land was becoming more costly because of the approach of railroads and expectation of mineral discoveries. He proposed that all the land in the Territory be surveyed as rapidly as practicable as had been done in such states as Illinois and Wisconsin.

What he overlooked, or perhaps chose not to see, was the great dissimilarity in the arability of the land in New Mexico and the States that he used as examples. There had been no change in the official Government policy requiring that land must be capable of growing crops to be homesteaded or preempted. There was, however, a growing tendency to overlook this requirement in actual practice. Whether this was good or bad depends on certain points of view. On the one hand it

did break the law; on the other, it made for more rapid settlement of the land with cattle ranchers serving as a catalytic agent in the process.

By 1873 Proudfit was openly propagandizing for the cattle industry in New Mexico, and striving to secure increased appropriations to accommodate its needs for surveys. In 1874 he enlisted the aid of S. B. Elkins, Delegate to the House of Representatives, to secure this increase. It was quite convenient for him to call upon Elkins since both, along with Marsh Giddings, Thomas B. Catron, and William W. Griffin, were incorporators of the Consolidated Land, Cattle Raising and Wool Growing Company, October 19, 1872, with home offices at Fort Bascom, Santa Fe, and Denver. Operations were planned in San Miguel County and in Colorado.

His survey locations were particularly interesting in the northeast part of the Territory and the Pecos Valley. Railroad talk was in the air and probably had some influence on the surveys in the northeast. Of more significance, the Prairie Cattle Company came to control most of the area now embraced by Union County. This was a Scottish firm incorporated on September 15, 1883. The Pecos Valley "was solely and strictly a cattle country — there were no other interests — and there were large herds."

Henry M. Atkinson, of Nebraska, took over the office of Surveyor General on March 31, 1876. By far the greatest amount of surveying in New Mexico was done under his supervision and irregular practices were common during his tenure. It was crystal clear that Atkinson operated within a specific framework of instructions as to areas that could be surveyed under the regular annual appropriations. These were:

1. Those lands adapted to agriculture without artificial irrigation.
2. Irrigable lands, or such as can be redeemed and for which there is sufficient accessible water for the reclamation and cultivation of the same not otherwise utilized or claimed.
3. Timber lands bearing timber of commercial value.
4. Coal lands containing coal of commercial value.
5. Exterior boundaries of townsites.
6. Private land claims.

Atkinson did not fulfill these stipulations. There might have been some question as to what constituted *agricultural* land except that Commissioner Williamson and Atkinson were clear on the matter: "The classification of surveyable lands made by Congress precludes the survey of portions of this Territory that are valuable for grazing purposes and which could be rapidly sold by the Government were they surveyed and subject to sale."

The special Deposit System became a matter of importance in Atkinson's surveys. It was originated by the Congressional Act of May 30, 1862, to reduce the Government cost of making surveys by authorizing that they be paid for by settlers in townships where they were desired. The law was modified in 1871 to the extent that deposits by settlers could be used in part payment for their lands in the townships the surveying of which was paid for out of these deposits. On March 3, 1879, the harmlessness of this law came to an end when certificates of deposits became negotiable and could be used in payment for public land anywhere under the terms of the Pre-emption and Homestead Laws. Nationally, the total deposits for survey in the seventeen years prior to the modification of 1879, amounted to $368,625.69. The deposits under the act from 1880 through 1884 were $5,813,368.58 and figures in New Mexico were $13,432.03 through 1879 and $891,707.85 from 1880 through 1884.

The situation became so intolerable that on August 7, 1882, a law was passed by which the use of certificates of deposit was confined to the land district in which the lands surveyed were situated. This caused a sharp drop in the amount of money deposited.

It is true that a large proportion of Atkinson's surveys were made under the deposit system and that, for purposes of accounting, special deposits were handled separately from the regularly appropriated survey funds. But surveys under special deposits were subject to the requirements of surveying only entire townships surveyable by law. It was furthermore specifically stipulated that no surveys were to be extended into townships not already settled.

Atkinson repeatedly blamed the large number of deposits

on the failure of Congress to make appropriations sufficient to prosecute the public surveys as rapidly as demanded by the settlement of the Territory. This is demonstrably strange reasoning even if the entire resident population was considered in the need for surveys. It is more reasonable to consider that the bulk of actual and legitimate settlement was demanded by newcomers who had not already acquired land. In 1883 the population of the Territory was about 130,000, three-fourths of whom were natives, and presumably had an abode of long standing. Of the remaining one-fourth all but a few foreigners were from the States. Even a large percentage of these had resided in the Territory for some years and had established an agrarian residence. That same year there were 12,847,970 acres of land surveyed in New Mexico; an average, in a single year, of almost 99 acres for each person living there at the time! Of this amount, at least 14/15 was done under the deposit system.

The only possible demand for that amount of surveyed land was that advanced by cattlemen. Two years later Commissioner Sparks reported that "the choicest cattle raising portions of New Mexico . . ." had been surveyed. The land was desired for grazing purposes. Atkinson's own words are proof of that. He had been questioned by Acting Commissioner C. W. Holcomb as to the validity of a contract in the region of the Llano Estacado east of the Pecos River.

Atkinson's answer is revealing: ". . . I presume that but a small portion of this land is suitable for agriculture, but it is adapted for grazing purposes and stockmen are desirous of securing their water and the land embracing same as the nucleus of their stock ranges."

It is evident that the General Land Office accepted this explanation at its face value because the contract was approved and duly executed. Such flagrant winking at the law can hardly be justified, but there is an explanation. Thinking men knew that the national land classification was unrealistic. They knew that large portions of the West were unsuited to anything except grazing, and yet there was no classification for grazing land. Such land could not legally be acquired for the only use for which it was suited. Perhaps men be-

came careless, or disillusioned, at the frustration of seeing this condition exist year after year with no attempt at a remedy. At any rate, Atkinson blithely continued, year after year, to certify that the areas of public surveys were confined to the classifications made by Congress.

Atkinson's surveys were so extensive that they covered nearly every region in the Territory, but a majority of this area was suitable only for grazing cattle. Atkinson himself was interested in the cattle business. In 1882 he was an incorporator, with Thomas B. Catron and John H. Thomson, of the Boston and New Mexico Cattle Company. The following year he and William H. McBroom and Joseph H. Bonham formed the New Mexico Land and Livestock Company. In 1884 he joined with Max Frost, W. H. McBroom, and three gentlemen from Kentucky in forming the New Mexico and Kentucky Land and Stock Company. These three companies operated in Santa Fe County. In 1886 the American Valley Company was incorporated by Atkinson, Thomas B. Catron, William B. Slaughter, and Henry L. Warren. The American Valley is in the triangle formed by the towns of Salt Lake, Trechado, and Quemado in present Catron County. The combined capitalization of these companies was $5,000,000.

Irregularities in surveys under Atkinson were prolific and brought repercussions while he was still in office. Commissioner N. C. McFarland condemned certain survey plats. He pointed out that the topography was poorly and roughly drawn and that the plats were "far below the average of other districts." An examination of survey plats for various periods, comparing them with resurveys, reveals that the early surveys, both in the field and on the plats, were much more accurate than those made in the 1880's under Atkinson.

In short, the surveys under Atkinson were not conducted in a creditable manner. However, he held office at a time when such practices were characteristic of the entire surveying service and particularly that of the West.

Clarence Pullen succeeded Atkinson on July 29, 1884. His administration was short and a large percentage of the surveys executed under his guidance had already been contracted for by Atkinson.

In 1885 President Cleveland, in a letter of May 11, asked George W. Julian to accept the office of either Governor or Surveyor General of New Mexico. Cleveland considered the office of Surveyor General the more important of the two.

Julian, who had cast his first presidential ballot for General Harrison in 1840, was seventy years old when, on July 22, 1885, he assumed the duties of his new office. He was a politician and a *good* government man, and tried to comply with the details of the law as he saw it. Above all, he could not be *bought* at any price. It was undoubtedly this unimpeachable honesty that endeared him so little to his contemporaries in New Mexico. Some historians have judged him too harshly. Evidence was everywhere at hand that the public domain was being harvested by fraud at an unprecedented rate. "No early problem of his Administration worried Cleveland so much as this wholesale spoliation of the West." This worry was honestly shared by Julian and he acted vigorously to save the public lands so they could be dispensed in the manner prescribed by existing laws.

Julian strove earnestly to take care of the demands of actual settlers. On the other hand, he had little patience with requests for surveys not for actual settlers. He was not as careful, however, to survey only areas strictly arable in nature. Atkinson had surveyed large quantities of non-arable land and certified that they had been arable. Julian and his superiors in Washington recognized some grazing land as being within the agricultural class even if the law clearly stated otherwise. Julian thus attained, to a lesser degree, the same results as Atkinson in the matter of surveying grazing land.

Edward F. Hobart replaced Julian on September 7, 1889, and served until August 2, 1893. He came into office with the Republican administration of Benjamin Harrison, but did not alter policies greatly from those of his Democratic predecessor. Toward the end of his tenure, Julian had been plagued by the need of a number of resurveys of work that had either been poorly done or in which the monumentation had been destroyed. Hobart faced this same problem. Julian's policy of confining surveys to those for actual settlers was continued

just as sincerely by Hobart. Furthermore, he probably was even more careful to survey only strictly agricultural land. Likewise continued was the policy of carefully examining all surveying returns and work in the field. It is evident that the extremely loose practices of the early 1880's were at an end.

Donations of land to actual settlers were made in Florida and in the Territories of Oregon, Washington, and New Mexico as a means of public defense. They were calculated to promote the military strength of settlements exposed to attacks by Indians. The legislation allowing for donations in New Mexico was contained in the second, third, and fourth sections of the act establishing the office of Surveyor General of New Mexico. By the provisions of these sections, 160 acres of land was granted to every white male citizen of the United States over twenty-one years of age, or to such person who had declared his intention of becoming a citizen, who was residing in the Territory prior to January 1, 1853, or who moved there prior to January 1, 1858.

Claimants of Mexican or Spanish land grants were not allowed to file for a donation claim. Likewise, holders of donations were excluded from pre-emptions or homesteads on the grounds that both classes required actual settlement and cultivation and one person could not fulfill these requirements on two claims. A donation claimant could, however, relinquish his claim and file the same land under the Homestead or Pre-emption Laws.

The first application for a donation claim that fulfilled all the requirements stipulated by law, and thus resulted in a notification, was made by Pinckney R. Tulley on December 22, 1858. This was for 160 acres in Section 34, T.18S, R.4W, in present Doña Ana County. Along with a number of others, it was abandoned and finally forfeited on August 8, 1870. The first donation certificate was issued to James T. Johnson on July 18, 1870, for 160 acres of land in Section 6, T.18N, R.20E, near the south boundary of Mora County.

Actually there were a number of applications for donation claims prior to Tulley's notification. No less than thirteen were made in 1855, the first year that the surveyor general's

office was opened. These could not be accepted because the claimants did not actually live on the land they claimed. They lived in settlements away from the land for the protection of their lives and property from attacks by Indians.

Another difficulty confronting donation claimants was the requirement that the land be surveyed. Most of the land in the vicinity of the settlements had already been reduced to private property. If settlers removed to a distance from the settlements, there were disputes concerning boundaries which were difficult to settle when the land was surveyed.

A third problem was that when making application for a donation, no one could be certain that he was not locating on a private claim. Donation claims located on private land claims could not be honored due to the extreme slowness with which title to private claims was settled.

As early as 1858, Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson had urged that the Donation Act be discontinued. It had been initiated as a means of public defense, but proved ineffective as a measure of public policy. The length of residence required, and other conditions imposed on claimants, caused complications in settling the titles of the donations themselves as well as trouble and delay in settling titles to adjacent lands. Surveyor General Pelham had earlier reported these troubles to exist.

It also became a potent instrument for fraud. Celso Baca received donation certificate No. 4, in 1870, and made a homestead entry in 1876. It was against the law to acquire a homestead in addition to a donation. Even then Baca was not content and in 1881 his name appeared on another homestead entry. Related to Baca's activities was the donation entry and homestead entry of Marcelino Moya. The first was in 1870 and the second in 1876. Neither of these was proved up. In May of 1881 he made another homestead entry and made final proof in June of that year. In December of the same year, his name was on still another entry. Strangely enough, Moya was an invalid who hadn't been out of bed for several years and who lived in the house of Celso Baca! There is no doubt that Moya was a tool of Baca, who possessed the lands thus entered.

Witnesses swore that Moya had lived on the land since before January 1, 1858. In the same statement they mentioned that they had known the applicant for six or seven years only. In other cases different signatures appeared in the same handwriting. Many signatures were written near the bottom of the sheet, indicating that the proof had been filled in afterward.

On August 21, 1880, John Gwyn made donation entry No. 164, in T.14N, R.8E, southwest of Santa Fe, representing the date of settlement as June 10, 1879. The land involved was marked on the plats in the land office as *mineral land.* It was well known that Gwyn had been for years past, and was at the time, a resident of Santa Fe. He was also a large owner in land grants. About this time Gwyn's brother, Thomas, who was in charge of the register's office, filed a pre-emption declaratory statement on land that was also mineral. He likewise had never resided upon the land filed on.

In 1884, Land Inspector Frank D. Hobbs ventured the opinion that not over two per cent of the 457 donation applications on file were valid claims. Of 332 land claims investigated by Special Agent H. H. Eddy in 1883, only that of Juan Martinez, T.19N, R.30E, was a donation. On it were some crumbling walls of an adobe building that had never been roofed and had long been abandoned.

In examining Registers and Receivers monthly abstracts of donation notifications and certificates, certain entries stand out when they appear in the same township on the same date. This could happen occasionally by chance, but when they appear in this manner regularly it prompts the question, did all the neighbors ride to town the same day to file on donation claims? It is more probable that the entries were made in the interest of someone bent on acquiring more land in the township than was legal.

In 1880-81, when the cattle industry was starting its boom, there was a sudden increase in donation entries. In 1880 there were 172 donation notifications and 162 donation certificates. Each group was more than in all the previous years combined. The final figure for donation certificates was 51,989 acres (338 entries) through the final entry in 1884.

There were also 73,298 acres (465 entries) in donation *notifications* through the final entry in 1882. It was required by law that a settler, to avail himself of a donation, must have commenced his residence, settlement, and cultivation in New Mexico not later than January 1, 1858. The question arises why were there suddenly so many qualified donation entrants? True, the law did not stipulate when they were to file, but why had they waited 22 years after the final date that residence could be established? The answer is that they were not *bona fide* entrants. In 1882, Secretary of the Interior Teller affirmed that

> it was the intent of Congress, in the passage of the New Mexico donation act, that all selections should be made under the act, and settlement and cultivation be commenced by the 1st day of January, 1858, that being the limit of the time within which the necessary residence could be acquired.

As a result in 1883, there was not a single donation notification or certificate. A lone certificate in 1884 closed the books on this class of land entry in New Mexico.

The Homestead Act with its principle of free land for actual settlers was the inevitable culmination of national and regional pressures. Tolerance towards squatters, donations to pioneers on the frontier, and modifications of the preemption privilege favorable to the settler, all pointed to free land. Generosity, subsidization, natural rights, class struggle, and expediency were co-ordinately parts of the pressure.

The 160 acres allowed was based on the theoretical amount of land required by the head of a family to make a living in a typically fertile farming community. But New Mexico was arid and 160 acres was not enough. Therein lay the great weakness of the Homestead Act. The idea of small farms here was a tenacious eastern dream and wholly untenable. It was forced upon the Territory and to blame the people for resulting pernicious developments would be uncharitable; it is realistic to say that it developed into another way of acquiring large amounts of grazing land.

During the decade of the 1880's cattle raising became the

great bonanza. Newspapers, periodicals, and livestock journals pointed out the large profits to be made in that business. It was said that an investment of five thousand dollars would net the investor a profit of forty or fifty thousand dollars in four years. Within that time a calf worth five dollars could be matured at little cost on the grass of the public domain and sold for forty or fifty dollars.

Acquiring a stock range was a simple matter in the early days of the industry before the country became crowded with cattle. It was only necessary to secure title to an available water supply to control land for miles around just as surely as though that land was actually owned. In this way the public domain was used without the payment of any tax.

During the late eighties and early nineties, cattle ranchers began to extend their private holdings. There were several reasons for this. As the ranges became overstocked, not only did the supply of grass dwindle but grazing areas became increasingly hard to control. Surpluses of cattle led to lower prices. Drouths and bad seasons made inroads on the vast herds then in vogue. Many cattlemen found they could raise better beeves more economically through selective breeding and supplementary winter feeding. Also, land entries were being more widely made by those desiring to farm where it was possible and by persons desiring to get into the cattle-raising business. To protect their interests, established ranchers had to secure ownership of land to meet the new competition.

There were a number of ways in which this was done. In New Mexico as elsewhere it was possible for one person to acquire 1,120 acres of land by the legitimate use of the land laws. The land laws became so complicated that a shrewd businessman had a decided advantage over a settler in acquiring large properties. These possibilities were well known at the time the laws were being most widely used.

Some land was sold at private entry and public auction, but such sales did not bring a quick turn-over of land, which indicates that other available methods were adequate and just as advantageous. These sales were minor in the aggregate.

Far more land benefited applicants by virtue of applications than by securing actual patent under the various conditions of the laws. It took from seven years (for a homestead) to thirteen years (for a timber-culture claim) before an entry lapsed. During this period the applicant was actually protected since proof was not required until submission for patent. Meanwhile, exclusive grazing and watering rights were available. Conditions in the land offices were chaotic and, even without collusion, an application might drag out for many years with no attempt to offer proof. In the meantime the applicant may have made his *pile* and didn't care whether he secured patent or not.

In amounts in excess of the legal limits of the land laws, public land could be acquired only by purchase from persons who had secured it by compliance with the laws. The alternative was fraud.

Some of the large holdings of grazing land were procured by purchase from homesteaders or pre-emptors who failed on their claim and sold out to ranchers. There were always a number of misinformed or stubborn settlers who insisted on trying to grow crops where none could be grown.

In the early 1880's, ranchers were usually bitter toward settlers because they were changing the old ways of the free range. But as it became evident that private holdings must be developed to meet competition, the wiser of them changed their attitude. Settlers were not then always looked upon with disfavor by the cattlemen who knew that most of them must eventually give up their efforts to be dirt farmers. If these settlers could be encouraged to remain long enough to prove up their claim before leaving, the rancher could buy the land where he could not legally acquire it otherwise. Some settlers had this in mind from the beginning and others were rapidly *educated* by crop failures. This *education* was painful and most were inclined to move away and let their land go back to the Government. If ranchers could encourage them to stay long enough to procure title, both would benefit: the rancher by acquiring the land, and the settler by some remuneration for his patience and effort in acquiring title to it.

But not all homesteads were entered by legitimate settlers. in the decade of the 1880's the population of New Mexico increased by 33,601. Since only 35 per cent of this increase was engaged in agriculture, only 11,760 can be considered as prospective farmers. At a contemporarily calculated figure of four persons per family, 2,940 would be eligible to take out a homestead. But in these ten years, there were 5,740 original homestead entries. In the same period there were 6,937 pre-emption declarations. These required a residence of five years for a homestead and six months for a pre-emption to acquire title. During the same period there were 1,547 timber-culture and 1,207 desert land entries. For these no residence was required.

Over-all figures are nearly as startling. In 1890, the population of New Mexico was 153,076 persons (exclusive of tribal Indians), or about 158,000 in 1891. Since only 35 per cent of the population in the Territory was engaged in agriculture, only 55,300 can be further considered. This figure is further reduced by the residents of the more than 5,000 small-holding claims in the Territory who had a settled place of abode from which they almost certainly would not have removed to prove up a homestead. At four persons per family, their population would be 20,000. In this class were the 8,278 residents of the pueblos who were almost entirely agricultural and were permanently located. Also deducted are the 1,461 soldiers stationed in the Territory at the time. The figure is now 25,561. Using four persons per family there were 6,390 persons eligible to apply for homesteads. But there were 6,784 homesteads applied for as well as 465 donations. All eligible persons, to comply with the residence requirements, would have had to leave a former home, move to the new land, build a house, and cultivate the soil. It is absurd to think that this happened. Furthermore, the 6,784 homestead applicants would have had to establish six months residence on 7,657 pre-emptions. Of the 6,784 homesteads entered through 1891, only 3,702 were given final certificates through 1896 (when those entered in 1891 would normally be completed). Also, homesteads could be filed only in legally subdivided townships. The clamor for surveys was constant, indi-

cating that many persons desired to make entries where the land was not surveyed. If they were waiting to file on unsurveyed land, it follows that they could not legally have filed on surveyed land.

Of the townships that had original entries by the close of 1891, about 53 per cent were not climatically capable of supporting the growth of crops, so could not have complied with the requirement of cultivation. By the end of 1896, of the townships that had final certificates, about 49 per cent were incapable of supporting crop growth and could not have complied with cultivation requirements. It should be borne in mind that much of the area climatically capable of raising crops was not suitable for that purpose because it was mountainous or timbered. The Homestead Law did not apply to timber land.

At the close of 1891 there were about 6 original entries per township and 5 final certificates at the end of 1896. This is an average. Any township capable of growing crops would have had more than 800 acres homesteaded out of a possible 23,040. Evidently much of the land was acquired to control widely scattered water which dominated grazing land rather than for cultivation, and since there were not nearly enough legitimate settlers for the quantity entered, it follows that it was done illegally.

In the more agrarian sections of the nation, fraud was committed by persons who wished to sell their ill-gotten gains. Fertile crop land was valuable, and speculating in it was frequently lucrative. In New Mexico, however, people wanted land for raising cattle. More particularly, they wanted land to control the sources of water for these cattle. In most cases these waterholes were valuable only for watering stock because they would support little irrigation.

Since control of one waterhole could gain command over thousands of acres of grazing land, it provided a good living for a family. Control of several watering places controlled more land and might bring wealth. This became the goal and achievement of some persons. Such was their greed that they knowingly broke the law to acquire whatever might and cunning would avail them.

In the 40-mile square area known as the American Valley, in Catron County, there were six springs; six claims entered in behalf of the American Valley Cattle Company covered nearly all the water in the vicinity. None of these entries were legal.

Fradulent entries were common throughout the Territory and those in Colfax County were among the most prevalent. Special Agent John M. Dunn made some investigations in this area as well as elsewhere in the Territory. When he could find but very little fraud, at a time when other inspectors were finding almost nothing else, the General Land Office became suspicious and sent Inspector Frank D. Hobbs to check the cases already covered by Dunn. Hobbs found many people who believed that Dunn had not acted in the best interests of the Government and that he had devoted his time to protecting the interests of stockmen who were parties to illegal entries. Dunn spent much of his time at the home of S. W. Dorsey, used Dorsey's horses at will, and enjoyed himself generally. Upon one occasion he inspected fraudulent entries at the Dubuque Cattle Company and was picked up at Dorsey's ranch by a four-horse rig belonging to the Dubuque outfit. A few days later he returned in the same comfortable manner. Inspector Hobbs unearthed convincing evidence that a great deal of land was entered by illegal means and straightway came into the ownership of Mr. Dorsey and other ranchers in the area. One person who swore to affidavits in wholesale lots was a young gentleman named Kit Carson, Jr., who was employed by Dorsey as a cowboy, teamster and general utility man.

The Prairie Cattle Company, owned entirely in Scotland, pre-empted and homesteaded most of present Union County without making a dollar's worth of improvements. The Palo Blanco, Dubuque, and Portsmouth Cattle Companies and J. S. Taylor, E. J. Temple, H. M. Porter, W. E. Corbitt, J. W. Dwyer, and John Delano, all had numerous entries.

Few if any of the original entrymen complied with the law. For example, José Ma. Martinez transferred seven claims to the Dubuque Cattle Company by quitclaim deeds in an impossibly short length of time.

In 1882 and 1883, 7,200 acres of public domain in the eastern part of the Territory were taken up by one individual for grazing purposes by homestead and pre-emption claims entered in the name of fictitious persons under conditions that made it impossible for them to be legal. In southern New Mexico the Vermont and Rio Grande Cattle Company acquired 3,000 acres of land by similar methods. In 1885 all southeast New Mexico was devoted exclusively to cattle ranching.

Another case involved 6,500 acres of fraudulent pre-emption and homestead claims. Ninety-one entries, embracing 14,000 acres, were acquired by another cattle company. In San Miguel County 84 entries of 160 acres each were found to have been made in behalf of still another cattle company. In the Las Cruces district 56 entries covering 10,500 acres were acquired illegally by a firm of cattlemen. A case in Colfax County involved 7,000 acres and 45 entries. Commissioner Stockslager reported that "While the entries in the above-mentioned [five] cases . . . only cover about 52,000 acres, they actually control an immense territory by appropriating all the water in the respective localities. The cattlemen are masters of the country, and they domineer and rule the people in their vicinity in such a way as to make it exceedingly difficult to induce parties to give evidence of the fraudulent transactions."

There is further evidence that homestead entries were made in the interest of parties other than settlers. Often groups of entries were made in a single township on the same day. Preceding and following these groups are completely random entries. Either groups of neighbors filed the same day or the land was filed upon by several persons in the interest of party or parties desiring to consolidate holdings in that area. The latter is more likely.

In 1883, Special Agent Eddy investigated 200 homestead claims; only 65 (32.5%) complied with homestead regulations. The chief factor in non-compliance with the law was the complete absence of any settlement or improvements on the land of any kind whatsoever. In other instances the land had been abandoned for years; the applicant was under legal

age; a house had been built by a party other than the applicant; or the resident on the land had never filed a claim and didn't even know that one had been filed. Frequently settlers in the neighborhood had never heard of the supposed claimant. Eddy concluded that "An honest investigation would result in the cancellation of hundreds of fraudulent entries, and many thousand acres of land would be thrown open to entry by actual settlers. . . . the office should send at least six agents into this Territory without delay. . . ."

Only 58 per cent of original homestead entries were patented. An application provided the use of the land, and for grazing purposes frequently this is all that was desired. It was estimated in 1885 that 40 per cent of five-year homesteads in New Mexico were fraudulent, which is close to the 42 per cent that were not patented but lower than Eddy's findings of 67.5 per cent in 1883.

The Homestead Law was not suitable for any except limited portions of New Mexico, and it was greatly abused; nevertheless, no essential change was made in the system until the Stock-Raising Homestead Act of 1916. Halfway attempts at compromise had been made with the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 and the Three Year Homestead Act of 1912. It was not until the act of 1916 that grazing land was recognized as such, by classification, in a homestead law. Before that the idea of a homestead as a crop-raising farm unit had basically prevailed.

The question may well be asked why settlers would buy land when free land was available through homesteading? There is no one answer to this question. One obvious answer is that a homesteader could secure additional land, through pre-emption, after completing a homestead entry by a five years residence or commutation to cash in six months. Many settlers did this. The homesteader could also purchase lands that were, from time to time, offered for sale by the Government.

Another reason is more unpleasant. It was easier for the unscrupulous to find a bogus entryman to stay six months on a pre-emption claim than five years on a homestead, and less

difficulty was encountered in concealing the nature of a false pre-emption entry for the shorter time.

Land could be acquired for cash in New Mexico through public auction, private entry, pre-emption, commuted homesteads, land scrip, and sale of military and Indian reserves.

In the spring of 1870, there was considerable excitement in the Territory occasioned by a coming public auction sale of areas in certain townships principally along the Canadian and Hondo rivers. The sale was to continue for no longer than two weeks, then the land was to be opened to private entry. Pre-emption claimants in the designated areas were required to establish their claims to the satisfaction of the Register and Receiver at Santa Fe where the sale was to be held, commencing August 8th. They were, furthermore, required to make payment on their claims before the date of the sale or else forfeit their rights to any land they claimed. They were unable to do this in every instance because some of the land had not yet been subdivided.

It is evident that the publicity attending the public sale of 1870 gave a comparatively large impetus to the land disposal program in New Mexico, small as it was in actual number. In the two years prior to 1870, there were only 10 original homestead entries filed and in that year there were 96. From 1858 through 1869 there were 13 donation notifications and in 1870 there were 14. The first mineral land sales were made in 1870; there were 21 of them. In the same year there were 26 cash sales. The only previous sales were three in 1868.

The sale itself was not immediately a great success, since only 1,958.23 acres were sold for $2,447.79. No one would bid over the going rate of $1.25 per acre for pre-emption land. After the sale, the unsold land was placed in the offered class and eventually disposed of through sale at private entry.

Among the largest purchases at the sale were those of Wilson Waddingham along the Canadian River and Ute Creek near their confluence. In 1871 he bought 6,589.58 acres of land from the Government and the following year 5,427.79. This land followed precisely along both sides of the streams. These purchases became part of the domain which was to be known as the famous *Bell Ranch*. Settlers in the region had

been repeatedly urged by the Register at Santa Fe to enter their lands. Many of them failed to heed the warning, and consequently lost the tracts that they had settled upon when Waddingham bought the land.

Waddingham's purchases were not looked upon with favor by some people in New Mexico:

> In my judgment the lands put in market for private entry should be limited in quantity to each purchaser. It is a common practice in this Territory to enter the smallest legal subdivisions bordering on streams, with a view to speculation and to secure the public land adjacent thereto for grazing purposes without purchase.

Other extensive purchases at private entry were made by Joseph C. Lea along the Rio Hondo from its source to its junction with the Pecos River. From 1879 through 1885, he bought 13,386.98 acres. Other members of the Lea family bought more than 2,400 acres in the same area.

Sales made under the Proclamation of May 3, 1870, were suspended on July 10, 1886, pending a determination of its legality. On June 9, 1890, Secretary of the Interior Noble rendered an affirmative decision based on the Act of July 22, 1854, establishing the Office of Surveyor General of New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska. The last clause of section 13 of this act gave the President authority to make sales of land in Nebraska. Since the whole act included New Mexico, it was ruled that this authority also extended to that Territory. J. C. Lea was one of the persons whose land was in question and, as demanded, filed an affidavit that he had made various private entries in good faith and that his improvements on the land had cost not less than $20,000. In view of the lapse of time and the expenditures made on the faith of the offering, the Proclamation was ordered to be legally held as *res judicata* and the titles to the lands involved were no longer questioned.

During the years there was considerable effort on the part of local land office officials to make known to the nation what New Mexico had to offer in the way of land available for purchase. They stressed pre-emption and private entry rather

than homestead. It was natural that they should do so since a major part of their income depended on fees from their business. There was also a certain amount of pride in the "Sunshine State." In correspondence regarding the possibility of buying land from the United States, it was frankly stated that there was good grazing land available and some excellent land susceptible to irrigation. "New Mexico," it was pointed out, "is very different from any other part of the Republic. Cultivation is wholly consequent upon irrigation and where water cannot be brought, the soil is unfit for cultivation."

Cultivation of the soil was a requirement for pre-emption, and yet it was reported that 60,000,000 acres of land were available in New Mexico for pre-emption. This was more public domain than was available in the Territory, and a majority of it would grow no crops.

Land officials of that day did not consider this a contradiction. They reflected that most of the land was fit only for grazing, and that the law should so allow. It was their duty to administer the land laws as they were written, but they saw the hopelessness of a literal interpretation of that duty and tempered their actions with the realities of the arid domain under their jurisdiction. It was not generally their intention to condone unlawful entries, but rather to make it possible for lawful entrants to secure land. Without a liberal interpretation of arability, this could not often be done.

Nevertheless, lawlessness did prevail. It was estimated that, based on reports of special agents, from 75 to 90 per cent of pre-emption claims in New Mexico were fraudulent. This may be somewhat high. Findings of Special Agent H. H. Eddy indicate 56.7 per cent. Of 111 cases examined by Eddy 63 in no way complied with the law. In one case in T.15S, R.17W, northwest of Silver City, James Voss was the pre-emptor but never lived on the land. It was further learned that Voss did not know which of three claims he supposedly owned and didn't care because J. W. Fleming was going to give him $300 for proving up. Later Voss said he didn't want to pre-empt a claim but Fleming told him he had to do so be-

cause his name was already in Washington. Such blackmail tactics were typical of the fraudulent cases.

By the four categories of free land (homestead, timber culture, donations, and soldiers and sailors homesteads), there were 622,684 acres deeded to individuals. On the other hand, settlers paid cash for 648,028 acres of Government land.[1] The railroads also sold 356,260.56 acres during this period. In addition a large amount was purchased by individuals from grant owners. It is evident that many people preferred to buy their land rather than get it free from the Government with the strings that were attached by the latter.

The Timber Culture Acts were, "in substance, a subsidy paid in lands to encourage the planting and culture of timber." They were in operation from 1873 until their final repeal in 1891. They were a mistake in arid New Mexico. Except in rare instances it was impossible to comply with the law. Nature controlled the balance here. Where there were trees, timber culture was illegal. Where there were no trees, none were destined to grow without irrigation, and irrigated land was more valuable for crops than for trees.

Compared to other States and Territories where it was tried, little land was disposed of under the Timber Culture Act. Still, considering the difficulty of compliance, an amazing number of persons took steps to avail themselves of this

1. Cash Sales through 1891 break down as follows:

	Entries	*Acres*
Final Desert Land Certificates (Through 1894)	398	139,622
Pre-emption sales	2,574	369,631
Private Entry sales	196	50,061
Public Auction sales	112	15,671
Excess payments on Homesteads, etc.	553	2,324
Homestead Entries commuted to cash	315	46,686
Mineral Land sales	517	9,015
Coal Land sales	39	4,189
Purchases with negotiable Scrip	108	10,829
	4,812	648,028
Final Certificates under the Land Laws:		
Final Homestead Certificates (Through 1896)	3,702	549,297
Final Timber Culture Certificates (Through 1903)	91	12,937
Donation Certificates	338	51,989
Soldiers and Sailors Homestead Declaratory Statements (could be entered immediately)	61	8,461
	4,192	622,684

class of national bounty. There were nearly eighteen times as many original entries as final certificates. By 1891, the year the law was repealed, 1,609 entrants had filed original papers for 230,335 acres. By 1903 the final returns were all in and there were only 91 certificates with 12,937 acres.

This shows that frequently the law was used only to hold possession with no intent to acquire title. There was more interest in the immediate use of the land than in ultimate ownership. A timber-culture entry ran for thirteen years before it lapsed. Eight years were required for final proof and five more years were allowed to complete the entry, and even longer if failure to complete the entry did not come to the attention of local land officials. During this time the entryman had use of the land "free of rent, interest or taxes."

Fraud in timber-culture entries was widespread. Land Inspector A. H. Greene, after a scathing denunciation of the entire timber-culture system, concluded that, "The experiment has approximated success about as nearly as an effort to make water flow up hill. I doubt if the trees standing on any timber-culture entry west of the hundredth meridian would retard a zepher."

The fault was chiefly in the system. Human nature was too weak to refrain from violating a law which was so easy to circumvent. So lightly was the law regarded that it became *neighborly* to exchange services as witnesses to affidavits. The more innocuous method of evasion was simply the failure of careless entrymen to obey the law. It was a common practice for homestead and other settlers to take up an adjoining quarter-section of land as a timber-culture claim with no intention of growing trees.

A more flagrant practice was that of cattle corporations. There was frequently no pretense of complying with any part of the law. The object was to secure valuable grass land by controlling water for their stock. It was accomplished by requiring their herders to take out entries covering these watering places. The adjoining land was valuable only to those who controlled the water. In this way entire townships were dominated by cattle interests.

Registers and Receivers' monthly abstracts of timber-culture entries show numerous entries in the same township on the same date. These groups stand out because they are surrounded by random entries. Chance cannot account for these claims so close together in time and location in thinly settled New Mexico. It is easier to believe that the consecutive entries were made in the interest of an individual or corporation trying to acquire more land than this law allowed.

In 1883 Special Agent H. H. Eddy examined 332 land claims in the Territory. Only seven were timber culture. None of these complied fully with the law.

The wisdom of the Timber Culture Act is open to question. It was passed at a time when the subject of promoting timber resources was coming to the public attention. It was thought possible to transform the bleak plains of the West by having land-hungry men cultivate trees in exchange for a farm. This was a visionary dream and no more. It was a failure as far as accomplishing what Congress had in mind and, in New Mexico, it was the least successful of all the land laws.

(To be continued)

EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO: A CHANGING VILLAGE

By CHARLES P. LOOMIS*

INTRODUCTION

ISOLATED in the high mesas of New Mexico, the village of El Cerrito, thirty miles from Las Vegas, New Mexico, was originally studied in 1939.[1] For over a decade and a half this original study has been the standard reference describing the life and culture of the Spanish-speaking people living in the rural areas of the southwestern United States. During the past decade of prosperity and good wages, however, phenomenal changes have taken place as a result of the migration of these people from isolated villages to the cities.[2] In an effort to understand these changes, a restudy of El Cerrito was undertaken during the summer of 1956.

Historical background. Although there is no detailed historical record of the origin of El Cerrito, it is known that the date of present occupancy goes back well over a century. All villagers in El Cerrito are of native or Spanish-American stock, descendants of Conquistadores and the indigenous population with which they mixed. The Spanish heritage of livestock raising, language, family and church which are still strong was blended with the Indian heritage of such cultural traits as the irrigation ditch and its dam, the use of adobe for building, crops and foods, and the methods and tools of farming.

Most of the present residents are descendants of people who migrated to El Cerrito from San Miguel, twelve miles north of El Cerrito on the Pecos river from which both villages and many other similar ones both above and below

* Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University.

1. Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito, New Mexico,* Rural Life Studies: 1, U.S. Department of Agriculture, November, 1941. Available in Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America, and Germany.* East Lansing: Michigan State College Bookstore, 1945. Ch. 16.

2. The percentage by 1950 of people of Spanish surname, a people originally almost entirely rural, who had become urban was as follows: Arizona 61.4, California 75.8, Colorado 49.7, New Mexico 41.0, and Texas 68.1. See Robert H. Talbert, *Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West,* Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, Texas Christian University, 1955, p. 23.

derive their irrigation water. The original settlers in the area knew more about stock raising than farming. Their forefathers had passed up good arable land in their trek eastward to the Las Vegas area, thus named because it appeared to be good grazing land. Over the last fifty or so years most of the twenty to thirty families who have owned property in the village at any one time were dependent upon the several stockmen of the village for wages as herdsmen. Formerly in this setting as elsewhere in the Spanish Borderlands a well-regulated and organized system developed in the village so that available work was distributed in accordance with need to those not regularly on the "patron's payroll." But this patron-villager relationship is a thing of the past because practically all patrons and others of Spanish-speaking ancestry have lost their grazing lands and like the other villagers must seek work outside the village.

Now as in the past the majority of the families actually living in El Cerrito own and operate from ten to forty acres of dry-farming land plus one to four acres of irrigated land. Most of the land is used for subsistance farming and garden crops producing little if any cash income. Most of the irrigated land owned by villagers was a part of the original land grant handed down from the original San Miguel del Bado Grant. Other dry land was added by homesteading and some purchases. Only one family now living in the village has enough land without renting for a family-sized stock farm or ranch. This family owns some 2,000 acres of mesa land upon which graze about a hundred head of cattle. Only this family has any appreciable cash income from agriculture.

Fifty years ago the people of El Cerrito and elsewhere in north-central New Mexico possessed vast holdings of land used for grazing. Secondarily, small irrigated plots were set aside for subsistence agriculture purposes. Today the outlying mesa which once supported the livestock industry has been transferred to other hands. Thus most remaining units are the small, irrigated plots that were never of adequate size and fertility to support a family.

The great exodus. According to demographic theories which attempt to explain migration, continued depression in

the village and continued prosperity outside should lead to out-migration. Of course, solidary communities with a high level of integration such as El Cerrito may resist the pressure longer than others. At the time of the first study in 1940 there were 26 family units in El Cerrito. Today there remain only four family units and four old couples whose children have gone elsewhere to live. Fifteen families have locked their doors, boarded up the windows, and left to work at year-around jobs elsewhere. Further, three families have died out. Thus about one-fourth of the people who were in El Cerrito in 1940 remain there today, and these are predominantly older people.

Such an exodus takes the very heart and soul out of a community. El Cerrito is a prime example. An older person said, "When we die El Cerrito is gone, and that won't be long now." This is really not true because there are two younger families with farming and ranching units large enough to support them, especially if eventually those who have left decide to sell or rent their land to them. Two other families with older parents have sons who may take over their units, and one family has moved to another ranch some 50 miles away and uses the El Cerrito products there. Nevertheless, a community with many old people reflects a different set of aspirations than a community of young people. Even during the depression the community with its young people furnished not nearly such a gloomy and pessimistic prospect as do the older people now during prosperity. A decade and a half ago one out of every ten was over 55 and one out of every fifteen over 65. Now one out of every three is over 55 and one out of every seven is 65 and over.

In the previous study great stress was placed upon the importance of the family to the individual and community. What has this exodus done to the family? How has the family functioned during this period of near crisis? We shall discuss this in relation to the social systems of the village. Suffice it here to say that of those whose destinations are known almost four out of five have gone to the one city of Pueblo, Colorado. Another 12 live in cities near Pueblo and all are more or less in constant contact with one another. All return

or plan to return to El Cerrito even if less frequently than formerly. Thus, in exodus as when the homes in the village were full, the family remains the strongest sub-system.

Communication and Interaction — Principal Systems and Processes

The community's sub-systems. As is well known few societies manifest stronger community integration than the Spanish-speaking villages of the Southwestern United States. This is in general true despite bitter cleavages common in many villages but from which El Cerrito has been free for many years. Community-wide rites of passage and activities such as weddings and funerals, church ceremonies, cooperative irrigation clearing activities, dances, Christmas school programs, school closing programs in the old days involved most members. However, in the last decades with most of the able bodied working men and their families away the community as a social system is not at all what it once was. No longer are there school programs because loss of population has brought about the closing of the school. No longer are there dances because the school building where dances were originally held has been sold and is no longer available and because there are fewer young people who want to dance. Other community-wide social events which continue are so small and lacking in the original enthusiasm that a villager said "it is only the skin and bones of the old El Cerrito."

The family. In few societies does the family have a more prominent place among the social systems and organizations than does the family in Spanish and Latin American culture. In the villages the family remains the basic channel through which all organized activities must flow. At an early age the child learns that almost no responsibility is greater than that of loyalty to and support of the family. The various status-roles of family members pattern life somewhat differently than they do in Anglo communities in the same area. Formerly unmarried girls and boys did not mingle except at dances or in situations providing parental supervision. Girls

in El Cerrito were not even allowed to walk away from the village unchaperoned. Now that the first eight grades of the school in El Cerrito have been transferred upstream to the larger village of Villanueva the control necessary for the separation of the sexes is somewhat relaxed. The parents who frequently bemoan the weakening of controls realize that children must meet somehow if they are to marry. Actually girls and boys meet more or less clandestinely in Villanueva, Las Vegas or elsewhere. Mating no longer has the parental supervision it once did. Originally marriages were arranged by the parents when a youth expressed an interest in a girl whom he had seen at dances, in the school or elsewhere. Now the village for the first time in its history has a woman with children deserted by the father of the children. One of the daughters of a respected family, the mother originally met the father in town. The deserted girl has returned with her children to live with her parents, who had little to say about her marriage. An older lady said, "Children going outside for recreation is bad for their morals. They come to respect their parents less." As will be indicated later, not only are the customs leading to marriage changing but the status-roles of parents and children are changing. On the whole they are changing in the direction of the lower class Anglo family.

During the early years of the great depression it was the extended family which provided the main support of the frequently hungry and poverty stricken villagers of El Cerrito. Later during the New Deal, relief, WPA work, and many other provisions made available from governmental sources saved them from real starvation. But the family contacts of the isolated villagers in the county seat and elsewhere provided the information necessary to make these resources and facilities available.

Now during prosperity many of the families have moved together to Colorado and many work in the same plants. Family systems which once sought out the relief and WPA jobs and other temporary work opportunities now report more permanent job opportunities and provide the security required in the transition from isolated village to metropoli-

tan life. In fact most large cities in the Southwest are interlaced with cliques of Spanish-speaking people who once lived in villages. At the present El Cerrito is closer in terms of family ties to Pueblo, Colorado, a city of 70,000, which is 263 miles distant, than it is to other towns and cities which are closer geographically. Family and village ties have helped remove the dozens of people who had no future in El Cerrito. Now that they are removed they unite through what we shall later describe as polite separatism to preserve the Latin-American culture which El Cerrito through geographic isolation preserved from Anglo culture for so many generations.

The Church. Although El Cerrito has never had a resident priest, the Catholic tradition has always been strong and no Protestants have ever lived there permanently. The church is still the best kept and appearing building in the village, and as in most Spanish-speaking communities is centrally located in the plaza. Probably there has been less change in the religious activities of the village than in those of any other social system. Services are held at least once a week by the villagers themselves with the priest from Villanueva conducting mass once a month. Two sisters accompany the priest once a month to teach the children their catechism. During the months of May, June and October the local people hold daily services in the church to which the women and just a few men are regular attendants. As previously the chief church celebration and for that matter village celebration is that of the "Function," held in the fall or winter in honor of its Patron Saint. Whereas previously the ceremony lasted two days with feasts, it now lasts only one day. The feasts are served and ritual and ceremony arranged by the two local church officials, "Mayordomos de la copia," appointed each year by their predecessors and approved by the priest. Whereas previously between one hundred and two hundred participated now the number is only 25 to 50. The greatest change in the activities of the church is in the number and composition of those who attend resulting from the change in the composition of the village. Some of the pews which were filled regularly a quarter of a century ago have been vacated by death but the church still has many older mem-

bers because it is they and only a handful of younger families who have remained.

The Ditch Association. From an economic point of view there is no community-wide social system of as much importance as the ditch association. It is certainly the oldest community organization. Its function is that of controlling, maintaining, cleaning, and repairing the irrigation system, the most important components of which are the dam and the main ditch. The dam, built on the principle of those found in use by the Indians hundreds of years ago when the Spanish arrived and consisting of stones and brush which are dropped in the river about a mile above the village, is in constant danger of being washed out. The rather long ditch leading from the dam located upstream to the fields around the village requires regular cleaning and repairing, particularly in the spring. About a quarter of a century ago each man was assessed one day's labor for each acre of irrigated land. Since the great decline in the village population the assessment is not so great, one day of work for every two acres of land. Those absent or for other reasons not able to work must pay three dollars per day for a substitute. The mayordomo of the ditch, or the ditch boss, and the ditch board or commission, composed of the president, secretary and treasurer, are still elected annually by popular vote in the village. The Board makes or changes rules regarding the ditch and the mayordomo or ditch boss supervises all work done on the ditch during the year. Only the ditch boss does not contribute the regular quota of hand labor — his status-role requiring executive functions. Whereas earlier the annual spring cleaning of the ditch was the occasion of considerable festivity usually lasting about two days, this is somewhat less true now. It is a job to get finished, and there are fewer to do the work and to make merry. Today as earlier many villagers wish that a government program might improve the ancient irrigation system, making it possible to raise the water higher and prevent the inevitable loss of crops when a flood washes out the dam.

The school. When asked what has been the most important event affecting the community during the last five

years, several villagers mentioned the closing of the school by the County Board of Education because there were insufficient children of school age in the village to support a school. In 1940 two teachers were regularly employed to teach at the village school. Today the 14 children in El Cerrito are transported by bus to the school in the nearest village, Villanueva, over a dangerous and rocky road which in many other parts of the country would be considered practically impassable. Most of the villagers with children said they worried when they were en route to and from and at the Villanueva school during the long days. This would have caused even more anxiety a decade and a half ago when children and women seldom left the village.

Several villagers mentioned the great loss when the County Board of Education sold the school building. One room of this building is now used as a dwelling, the other room is used as a storage space for hay. The closed school with its desks, covered with jack-knife carved initials, under a pile of hay must produce nostalgia for those who learned to read and write, attended village dances, met their present spouses, participated in local political meetings, and all the other non-religious functions of the village there of earlier time. In fact for the author the image of the school house with its screens partly ripped off, hay protruding from a partly opened door, and the broken flag pole symbolized an almost deserted village, a village which is dying. No longer do parents and children peer out of windows ready to send the children off to school upon the irregular arrival of the teachers. No longer do parents expect them home for a brief period of lunch at noon after which they scampered back to school. Now the school bus arrives regularly and children must be ready or be left behind.

The Well Association. Until 1949 all water used for drinking, cooking, washing and bathing was carried in buckets from the irrigation ditch. Throughout the area this general practice resulted in many New Mexican counties having very high death rates, especially among young children, due to dysentery. Typhoid was endemic in many places and old and young alike in many villages suffered chronic

diarrhea. In 1956 when families in El Cerrito were asked what the most important events in the village were in the last years many answered, "The water project." It is interesting to note why they believe this to be true. The State Health Department officials are agreed that the main function of the well program is that of improving the health of the villages. The villagers, when questioned why they thought the attainment of the well and water system was so important, never once gave this reason. The reasons given were: The water tastes better, beans and other foods cooked in it taste better, it is softer, it avoids the effort and trouble getting the water from the ditch, too often the ditch water is muddy and must settle for too long a period before it is used. Several villagers claimed the ditch water was perfectly healthy, this notwithstanding the fact that there have been deaths in the village from typhoid, although usually not attended by a doctor. Most people commented upon the fact that the water from the Pecos river is harder and does not taste as good as the water from the well.

A law passed in the 1949 state legislature resulting from Senate Bill No. 58 states that villages may form a "Mutual Domestic Water Consumers Association" which will provide for the installation of sanitary domestic water facilities, thus eliminating the present hazardous practices involved in the use of ditch water, open shallow wells, creeks, and rivers which are subject to contamination and, therefore, are injurious to public health. The law further specifies that "the persons so associating, their successors and those who may thereafter become members of said association, shall constitute a body corporate by the name set forth in such certificate and by such name may sue and be sued, and shall have capacity to make contracts, acquire, hold, enjoy, dispose of and convey property real and personal and to do any other act or thing necessary or proper for carrying out the purposes of their organization; provided, however, that such association created by this Act shall not have power to become indebted or issue bonds of any kind." Although El Cerrito and other similar villages had earlier held land grants under corporate arrangements based upon Spanish

and Mexican law, this is the first time El Cerrito has entered such a contractual arrangement under State law.

The San Miguel County health officials in Las Vegas and Santa Fe were surprised that little El Cerrito, isolated and without electricity as it was then, should be one of the first of the area to carry through negotiations and actually organize, prepare articles of incorporation and execute incorporation of an Association making the facilities available under the Corporation Commission of the state. In an effort to explain why this little conservative and isolated community applied in June of the year the law was passed and had its water supply in the same month, an official commented as follows:

> El Cerrito unlike many villages does not have factional strife which is a frequent hindrance to the villages of the area interested in this program. There were no wells there originally so that no one already had water. In Villanueva, for example, there was both factional strife so common in these villages and some families already had wells. Some of the better-to-do people who had wells were opposed to a community project. El Cerrito is more like La Cueva — just one big family. La Cueva got theirs easily, too. Also Luis Aragon, a leader there in El Cerrito, pushed it. He is progressive and aggressive.

There is the further fact that El Cerrito has sent its share of migrants to Las Vegas, the county seat, and some of these people keep tab on what goes on in the court house and state legislature. This rural-urban linkage through relatives is used in politics and was very important in getting relief and making use of other facilities during the depression.

Although villagers from El Cerrito initiated action by talking with County Department of Health officials, a representative of the county office initiated the project in the village by holding a public meeting at which all who attended signed an application and a contract specifying among other things that

> We agree to contribute all unskilled labor, such skilled labor as is available and desirable and all local materials such as sand, gravel, stone, timbers, vigas, adobes and any other materials it is feasible and desirable to obtain locally.

The state of New Mexico paid $3,444.43 for the engineering and geological services in planning the well, for its digging, and for the equipment including the gas engine, pump, tank, etc. The people contributed $1,939.00 in cooperative labor, digging the trenches within which to lay the lead pipes and in materials such as adobe, vigas, etc. Twenty-one families, most of whom are not now living in the village, paid the $1.00 membership fee and only one family in the village now uses the ditch water. This family is a member but claims that it cannot afford to make the main connection to the house.

Maintaining the pump. Typical of the Well Association and life in the village is the manner in which it is maintained and operated. The gasoline tank on the pump holds two gallons of gasoline which will fill the water reservoir tank holding a thousand or so gallons of water. When the pump stops because the gasoline tank is dry, the secretary-treasurer sends a child to collect either five or ten cents from each family to purchase gasoline for the next filling. Five cents is collected if the reserve water tank is only half empty and only one gallon of gas is needed to fill it. The child collects ten cents from each family if two gallons of gas are needed to fill the tank.

In 1956 the well was idle for two months because no one could make the repairs required for the engine and the pump. This and the insistance of the County Department of Health officials in Las Vegas prompted the officials including the president, vice president, a secretary-treasurer and two other commissioners to begin levying a $1.00 a month upkeep charge from the eight members now in the village and using the water. This forms a reserve fund which the secretary-treasurer keeps for an emergency. Many of the villagers believe the one dollar a month collected by the secretary-treasurer is used for paying off an indebtedness. This is an interesting misapprehension on the part of these villagers because the people are not under obligation to pay for the well but only to maintain it.

According to the records in the County Health Department in Las Vegas there are ten inside connections and six or eight washing machines in the village. There are as yet no

inside toilets or baths. The county health officials say that in other villages almost all families who get water soon get washing machines, and as funds are available, toilet and bath equipment is bought piece by piece.

The community. A decade and a half ago El Cerrito was described as an example of the convergence of neighborhood and community, a grouping within which almost every one of the two dozen or so families could claim at least a third cousin relationship with every other. Sociometric interaction charts described several powerful extended family groupings all linked to one another. Now, with three quarters of the people away from the village most of the time and several families gone permanently, El Cerrito is becoming merely a neighborhood in the trade center community of Las Vegas, New Mexico.

El Cerrito remains a community in the sense described by writers such as Brownell[3] and Mead[4] who see the small community as an arena for the nurture and development of the ideal socialized personality, the internalizing of the generalized other, the basic unit of strong healthy nations. However, unlike most other such neighborhoods it is isolated geographically and culturally and, except for the linkages through family ties to those working in the large centers, remains a closed system in many respects.

Social Processes

Social-cultural linkage with the outside world. The third most important event in the village in the last decade and a half, after the organization of the Well Association and the closing of the school, according to the people, was the coming of electricity. In 1952 an engineer of the Rural Electrical Administration located in Mora, from which the REA cooperative of the area is operated, visited the village and called a

3. See Baker Brownell, *The Human Community — Its Philosophy and Practice for the Time of Crisis.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950; and Baker Brownell, Joseph K. Howard, and Paul Meadows, *Life in Montana, As Seen in Lonepine, a Small Community,* the Montana Study, Missoula. The University of Montana, Helena, Montana, 1945.

4. George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society; From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist,* edited by Charles W. Morris, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934, pp. 178-179.

meeting of those who wanted electricity. At this meeting seven members signed an agreement to the effect that if the line were extended to El Cerrito they would install lights. Two families then argued against bringing this facility to the village and refused to sign the agreement, saying they could not afford the service. Both have since joined the co-operative and become users of electricity. The minimum monthly rate per family in El Cerrito is four dollars — fifty cents more than in neighboring Villanueva because El Cerrito is more inaccessible and farther from the center of distribution. Older people and some younger people, too, worry about the payments which could not be made if children working away were to lose their jobs or if another depression came such as they suffered in the thirties. Thus the fixed payments of $4.00 minimum per month for electricity per family (some must now pay over $10.00), $1.00 for water and then the many other installment payments for the second hand car, the refrigerator, the washing machine, television set, or other items indicate the linkage of this once isolated, subsistence village to the greater society. The coming of electricity was the final link which brought the outside world into El Cerrito. Most of the remaining families have viewed television in the home of the one family which has a set bought on the installment plan.

Comparing El Cerrito now with El Cerrito a decade and a half ago, it is the closeness of the linkage of the once isolated village to the greater society which most impresses the visitor. This linkage, in spite of a difficult road and considerable distance, is now firmly established. A decade and a half ago there were two radios serviced by electricity from batteries when their owners could afford them. These radios functioned only on occasion and were frequently out of order. Now practically all have radios or easy access to them. Then two old automobiles and two antiquated trucks were the only motored transportation to Las Vegas. Usually families with no auto or truck needing to go to town paid $3.00 to the owner for the privilege of riding into town and back with his purchases. After a trip to town was arranged those not needing to go were carried for less than the $3.00. Today all families

with younger people own a car and/or a truck. Most families go to town once a week and the cost of riding with a neighbor has been reduced to $1.50. Families working in Colorado or in other places return occasionally to check on their property and the many members of families now living in the village return more frequently. These latter especially send back money and bring various electrical gadgets, even refrigerators, radios and other large items.

After a decade and a half of ever accelerating and ramifying social-cultural linkages El Cerrito, still isolated geographically, and separated from the urban world by a stretch of road which, especially after rains, would frighten most drivers from other regions, now accepts the values of groupings in Las Vegas, Pueblo, Denver and Albuquerque above those of the village. For all except the few families who remain El Cerrito, which they still affectionately call *La Placita*, is little more than a possible haven during unemployment or a possible depression. All the older families and many of the younger people know that it could not serve as a haven during another depression unless the government provided the equivalent of PWA work jobs and other relief payments. Increased use of automobiles and trucks, radio, television and more frequent contacts in Las Vegas and the more remote centers which provide more and more year-round employment have now linked El Cerrito to the major social systems of the nation and world.

During the field work on the original study over a decade and a half ago the author lived with a family and came to know intimately two boys in their teens. In his diary written then is the following:

> Bene and I prepared to go to Las Vegas. He was to see about an NYA job. . . . When Christiano (the father) sent his son with two pails of provisions and a shabby old pasteboard suitcase to Vegas for 15 days, he gave him much fatherly advice. Bene is about 20. The father showed real emotion. Tears stood thick in his eyes and ran down his cheeks.

The same scene was repeated earlier when the author took the younger brother of Bene for an overnight trip to Las

Vegas and Santa Fe — the first such visit he had had in his life. A decade and a half ago this usually happened when sons or daughters left the village. Although family ties are practically as strong as ever today, the weekly contacts of most families with Las Vegas by car and truck, the daily school bus trips to Villanueva, mass media and many other contacts would make the above notes out of keeping with life today. Social-cultural linkage with the outside world has been achieved.

Boundary maintenance. Polite separatism characterizes the basic nature of boundary maintenance of Spanish-speaking groups in New Mexico. The evolution of this pattern is complex and has developed over the many decades of Anglo-Hispano interaction. In a brief space we can only sketch certain aspects of the evolution of polite separatism as a boundary maintaining device. Suffice it to say that even before the annexation of New Mexico by the United States in 1848 and in ever-accelerating measure thereafter, "invading" Anglos who generally maintained an exalted belief in their own superiority pushed their business and other interests in "the Anglo way," that is, through the application of shrewd, often sharp, practices. Against this aggressive and industrious Anglo enterprise the natives were unable to compete. Spanish-speaking stockmen lost their grazing lands and watering facilities, business men lost their trade in the keen competition. Moreover, in the village centers such as Socorro, Taos, Santa Fe and Albuquerque,

> "Houses were opened for the indulgence of every wicked passion; and each midnight hour heralded new violent and often bloody scenes for the fast filling record of crime. The peaceable Mexicans hastened to pack up their little store of worldly wealth, and, with their wives and children, fled from the rapidly depopulating village.[6]

6. John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua,* New York, 1854, 1:156f, quoted in Carolyn Zeleny, *Relations Between the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans in New Mexico — A Study of Conflict and Accomodation in a Dual-Ethnic Situation,* Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 1944, p. 318.

The results of this interaction have been summarized by Zeleny:

> The average Spanish-American drawing what security he needs from the family, community and church, as an individual possesses "a serenity, a lack of competitive zeal, and a contented enjoyment of leisure and simple pleasures which makes him stand in contrast to the more tense, aggressive Anglo-American. . . . The reaction against their treatment by the Anglos as well as the conflict of cultural differences and values have tended to provoke attitudes among the Spanish-American group that have reinforced the pattern of social separatism. The Spanish-Americans have voluntarily remained aloof from social intercourse with the Anglos in part because of hostile attitudes toward them. From the time Anglo-Americans first appeared in New Mexico they were called 'Gringos' a term of contempt referring to them as foreigners or intruders, a group unlearned in the ways of the country.[7]

Through the device of polite separatism El Cerrito and the many similar villages retain their Spanish heritage despite the fact that most of the people who live there now work outside in the Anglo dominated urban cultures. Actually for generations this pattern of outside work has prevailed. Previously the most common outside participation was in Spanish-speaking section gangs on railroads, groups of Spanish-speaking people working in harvest fields and tending sugar beets, or in mines where the work groups were largely Spanish-speaking. Now the principal migrations are to the industrial centers of Colorado and infiltration with Anglo workers is more common. Nevertheless, the device of polite separatism results in groups of El Cerrito villagers living and maintaining contacts on and off the job in Pueblo, Denver and Albuquerque. Boundary maintenance makes acculturation to the national culture very slow indeed.

Olen Leonard and the author as Anglos spent many months of patient and constant effort to gain acceptance in El Cerrito in the thirties. Some contact has been retained in the intervening years, but the author was again impressed upon re-entering the village at the effectiveness of polite

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 312 and 316.

separatism as a boundary maintaining device. If we had not invested the many months of helpful effort in cultivating the friendship of the villagers, and if they had not learned in the fifteen years since the field work that we meant no harm, our reception would have been that of polite contact and avoidance. The original study and the camera report of the United States Department of Agriculture had been circulated in the village and by Senator Dennis Chavez in New Mexico generally, so that our status-roles as non-hostile but objective investigators were legitimized. On the revisit two New Mexican Spanish-speaking graduate students accompanied the author, and even their activities were viewed with suspicion until people learned that they were helping on the re-study of the village. In terms of the basic cultural and social components of El Cerrito, the device of polite separatism has been an effective boundary maintaining device. Social-cultural linkage to the society outside has not meant that the basic value orientation and social structure has changed greatly.

Decision making. Decision making on a community level in El Cerrito now and fifteen years ago differs from that in many other Spanish-speaking villages. This was emphasized by the County Health Department officials who worked in the village while the well association was organized. As indicated above the New Mexico Department of Health is attempting through what amounts to outright subsidy to introduce community pumps into villages where the hazard of sickness is great because drinking water is taken from surface water sources. Typically the villages are torn by bitter inter-family feuds. In such villages if one group begins negotiations for a well it inevitably meets the opposition of the traditional opposing group. Negotiations may thus be held at a stalemate for months or even years.

As stated in the original study,[8] the two leading families in El Cerrito long ago carried their feud to the point of actual murder and severe beatings. Both families lost heavily in sheep and money and one finally withdrew from the village. The termination of the feud and the subsequent unity ac-

8. Leonard and Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

counts for the fact that El Cerrito was one of the first villages in the region to agree to install a community well and join the REA cooperative and that never has difficulty in the election of officials for managing the most important community cooperative, the ditch association. Today as in previous generations all officers except the appointive church officials are elected by popular vote.

In the case of the village decision to organize the well association and install water, the initiator was the head of a family which is now the number two family of the village in terms of wealth and the only owner of a television set. Through almost unbelievable energy and thrift this family has moved from a position of dire poverty to that of being relatively well-to-do. A decade and a half ago he would not have been the chief decision maker of the village in an activity of this kind. Then the leading families spoke of him somewhat disparagingly as a striver and one too interested in his own advancement. Then, although he could not speak English well, the author thought his motivation in this respect stemmed from sentiments more typically Anglo than that of the leading families. Today this man, who fifteen years ago was considered as a bit overly ambitious for the village and not a key person, is without question one of the three leading men in decision making in most all community-wide decisions.

Communication. Communication as in earlier times within the village is primarily by word of mouth. The author's revisit to the village was known and evaluated in a very short time after his arrival. Visiting is still the most common form of pastime and recreation and is going on most of the waking hours and especially after church and other community gatherings. Since the closing of the school, the discontinuance of dancing and school entertainments, and the decrease in the number of full-time residents, communication and interaction opportunities are provided mostly through visiting. The return of relatives frequently without notice provides a time of intense interaction for the larger family group involved. Now that so many families are away, and since many do not write, a family may return to find those kin away whom they most wanted to visit. For example,

on the door of the house in which the author lived in the thirties, now boarded up because the family is in Pueblo, Colorado, is the following inscription in pencil: "We came to see you and found you had left. Flora." However, since coming and going is mostly by families and since larger family groupings usually go outside to the same larger city, frequently working in the same plant, the coming and going of individuals are generally known to those most concerned.

Language. Whereas fifteen years ago few of the villagers could speak English now most young people, many of whom have served in the armed forces in various parts of the world or have attended the relatively good schools in Villanueva, can speak English. Likewise the many who have migrated to work and who remain in areas where English is spoken on the job have more practice in it and speak well. Thus one villager who scarcely speaks English commenting about his three sons said, "Cirilio was with the Army in Europe, Candido went with the Army to Africa and the Orient, and Teodoro was with the Navy. I wish I had learned the English my boys know. We would all be better off."

Incidentally El Cerrito differs from many Spanish-speaking New Mexican towns and villages which lost many sons in the Philippine Islands. The National Guard units sent to the Philippine Islands were made up of people living close enough to centers such as Las Vegas with armories in which to drill weekly. El Cerrito and similar villages were too isolated for this and had no national guard.

Values and Structural Elements of the Village

Some Changes in Ends and Norms. Fifteen years ago the people of El Cerrito would argue the advantages of life in their village with almost anyone. Although many knew that only a few could gain their chief livelihood there, most truly believed it was the best place they knew to live and bring up children. Men working in section gangs on the railroads, in beetfields to the north or later in various plants during the war longed for the day they would return to El Cerrito. Now all this has changed. Only three or four families want to stay

permanently and they doubt that many of those working away will return permanently. The tendency noted in the thirties to glorify the village's past still exists but now beside these past glories is placed a gloomy future. "There is little left. No dances, just a few people. There is little going on." Each longs to visit friends and relatives on weekly trips to Las Vegas or to visit with relatives in Pueblo, Colorado, Denver, or Albuquerque.

In summary we may say that as villagers in El Cerrito attempt to consider the changes they will or should accomplish through community-wide cooperation, that is, the ends and objectives of the community, they report a gloomy prospect. Some hope that there might develop some industry or employment so the people could earn a living and remain a part of the community, but most believe little short of a miracle will produce this. Aside from the pessimistic view of the future, villagers are anxious, as in the past, to cooperate in any way to improve the life of the village. As the children become more acculturated to outside ways a sort of marginality in the effectiveness of the old and new norms apply. People are uneasy about an apparent development of immorality in terms of old Latino norms and manifest uncertain and ambivalent attitudes toward Anglo norms, which some are adopting and with which more are in contact.

Some changes in status-roles and social rank. In the village itself such status-roles as those of father, mother, grandparents have remained relatively unchanged. Age and those who are parents and grandparents are still respected. However, in the urban centers to which the larger family units have gone, the villagers are accepting more and more the Anglo's low evaluation of all those who do not earn, including the grandparents and older persons. In the village, however, several of the grandparents are provided with grandchildren to help them with chores and housework. In the urban centers all indications are that with the husband away on the job, the Anglo pattern of increasing social rank and status for wives and mothers from villages such as El Cerrito is an inevitable development. Men on the job are no longer independent. The Spanish-speaking woman, like Anglo women but unlike her

sisters who remain in the village, can and does contradict her husband at home, particularly regarding the socialization of the children. The urbanized village woman may demand and have time and money of her own to spend as she wishes. She can and is often expected to dress stylishly and to wear makeup. In fact, in contrast to earlier practices, adolescent and younger women are now doing this in villages such as El Cerrito. Older women and younger children follow the norms of status-roles in the villages but children in adolescence are less strictly supervised. The adolescent children are often the chief linkage the parents have with Anglo culture.[9]

In El Cerrito with the loss of the school the important status-roles of the teachers, members of the school board and pertinent relations to the county school system with its organization disappeared. The various officials of the Ditch Association, Well Association, the non-resident priest, the mayordomos of the church and the justice of the peace are, as a decade and a half ago, the chief status-roles. As indicated above in the discussion of decision making, one family through great industry and thrift has increased its rank in the village. However, the villagers when they move to larger centers enter the lower classes. Only a few become skilled laborers and attain upper-lower class status.

Changes in Social Power. In recent generations no person or family in El Cerrito has had great power as have some of the Spanish-speaking dons and well-to-do leaders elsewhere. No family owns more than a few thousand dollars worth of property. Nevertheless, through able management of political resources based upon available votes the leaders of the village still make their demands felt. This happened when effort was exerted to get the well and when electricity was requested from REA. Relatives from the village are numerous, and although the posts in county offices are not high nor many, politicians do not like to disregard even the smallest villages such as El Cerrito with its many kinship linkages throughout the area. It must be admitted, however, that the

9. Marjorie B. Rice, *Re-Patterning of Roles: the Effect of Urbanization on A Selected Spanish-American Group*, Ms. Undergraduate Thesis, Wellesley, Mass.

decrease of population in the village, particularly the loss to other states, has lessened its voting strength and power in politics.

Sanctions. Since villagers frequent the larger centers and since there are fewer resources in the village by way of recreation and entertainment, the former negative and positive sanctions of gossip and fear of local disapproval no longer have the efficacy they once had. Thus although most families contribute their quota of labor to the Ditch Association, four resident families among the twenty-one have not paid the monthly levy made by the Well Association. The power of local disapproval of the others is insufficient to make them contribute even though they are able. We doubt that a decade and a half ago these four families would thus deviate. As in the past there are no law enforcement officials in the village and none are needed.

Facilities. From a community point of view there have been substantial losses in facilities since the thirties. There is no village school, no place in which meetings such as the one held for the organization of the Well Association can be held. There is no place for community dances. The chief gains are the well installation and electric light facilities. The road to Las Vegas is some but not much improved. Individual families have improved levels of living through the addition of various facilities such as washing machines, refrigerators, radios and other appliances. Three families own tractors and some motorized farm equipment whereas fifteen years ago there were none in the village. As mentioned earlier, fifteen years ago there were only two dilapidated cars and two old trucks in the village. Now all extended families have a car and/or a truck, or older people have children with such vehicles.

Territoriality. El Cerrito itself has not changed its geographic boundaries, and families do not go further for work than was the case fifteen years ago. However, as mentioned previously the village has heavy and perhaps permanent anchorage points, especially in Pueblo. Also several families from the village live in Albuquerque, Denver, and Las Vegas. Considering the strong family ties and other frequent inter-

action this means that in many ways the actual community of El Cerrito extends now to these distant points.

Summary and Conclusions

In the decade and a half since the original study of El Cerrito, a typical isolated Spanish-speaking village in San Miguel County, New Mexico, work opportunities outside the village coupled with continued contraction of local resources and opportunities have finally produced a major exodus. Although working outside the village is nothing new in El Cerrito, the pattern has changed greatly. Whereas formerly males worked on ranches, railroads, in mines and elsewhere a few months and then returned to the village, now many families have left to live the year around away from the village. The exodus has resulted in the loss of three quarters of the population, the school, and most hope for the future of the community. The outside contacts and linkages are producing fundamental changes in the social structure and value orientations of both those who remain in the village and especially those who have left for the urban centers.

LINCOLN COUNTY CHRONOLOGY

5 Wallace reaches Lincoln and Hatch arrives at Ft. Stanton.
Mar. 5 (shortly thereafter) Under Wallace's orders detachments of soldiers, unaccompanied by Sheriff; (1) arrest Evans, Campbell, and Mathews at Murphy's Fairview ranch near Carrizozo, (2) Sgt. Murphy and 9 men seek Bonney at Las Tablas, and (3) Dolan having voluntarily surrendered under indictment, paroled by Wallace, is arrested by soldiers and confined to Ft. Stanton as a parole violator, at Wallace's orders.
7 Wallace writes renewing request to Hatch for removal of Dudley.
7 Dudley writes Hatch for instructions as to use of military in civil actions.
8 Dudley ordered relieved of command of Ft. Stanton.
8 (Eve.) Wallace attends mass meeting of citizens at Lincoln court house.
13 Deputy Sheriff Richmond, Lt. Carroll and 30 soldiers go to the Peñasco to maintain law and order.
13 Dudley requests court of inquiry re his removal by Hatch from command at Ft. Stanton and transfer to Ft. Union.
15 (just prior to) Bonney writes Wallace offer to testify if Governor will guarantee immunity.
15 (Sat.) Wallace writes (from Lincoln) to Kid to meet him Monday, March 17th.
18 (Night) Jesse Evans and William Campbell escape from Ft. Stanton.
20 Wilson delivers message from Kid to Wallace questioning safety of proposed meeting in view of Evans' and Campbell's escape.
20 Wallace at Ft. Stanton writes the Kid that "escape makes no difference in arrangements."
Kid writes Wallace (from San Patricio) confirming agreements discussed at March 17 meeting for surrender to Kimbrell at San Patricio.
21 (3 or 4 A.M.) Kid and Scurlock surrender to Kimbrell at Gutierrez's, one mile east of San Patricio.
23 (Sun. Eve.) Bonney gives Wallace at Lincoln written memo naming "thieves and murderers" and describing trails used by "The Rustlers."
31 Wallace (at Lincoln) petitions Washington for martial law.
Apr. 3 Bristol at Mesilla requests Wallace at Lincoln for protection at Lincoln court session.

10 Dudley returns to Fort Stanton from Fort Union.
14 (Mon.) (et seq.) Territorial Court at Lincoln.
Kid testifies against Campbell, etc., for Chapman murder, before Grand Jury at Lincoln.
15 Chisum recommends Pat Garrett to Wallace "to take care of the squad east of" Ft. Sumner.
Billy walks out of custody at Lincoln.
18 Wallace leaves Fort Stanton for Santa Fe.
22 Having pled not guilty at Territorial Court in Lincoln in case of Middleton, Brown and Bonny, for murder of Brady (and Hindman?), Billy and his attorney object in vain to Rynerson's plea for change of venue to Doña Ana County.
24 (Night) Attempted assassination of Leonard at Lincoln.
25 (circa) Eli Gray dies at Lincoln from gunshot wound accidentally self inflicted.
30 Grand Jury adjourns at Lincoln having returned nearly 200 indictments including Dudley and Peppin for burning McSween house. (anti-Dolan group).
John and Tobe Hudgens and Robert Henry escape Lincoln County jail. Kid and Scurlock still technically in custody.
Marion Turner leaves Fort Stanton for Roswell with escort of 2 enlisted men assigned as bodyguard for 30 days.
May Kid returns to Fort Sumner and engages in cattle rustling.
1 Spring term of Federal Territorial Court ends at Lincoln with sentencing of Lucas Gallegos to one year in prison for murder.
2 Dudley Court of Inquiry opens at Fort Stanton.
11 Gov. and Mrs. Wallace at Ft. Stanton.
28 Bonney testifies at Dudley Court of Inquiry.
June 20 (circa) George Washington accidentally shoots and kills his wife and baby at Lincoln.
27 Judge Bristol admits Dolan to $3,000 bail at Mesilla. (Chapman murder).
July 5 Dudley Court of Inquiry ends (no verdict announced).
13 (Sun.) J. J. Dolan married to Caroline Fritz by Rev. J. S. Tafoya at home of Allen J. Ballard, Mesilla.
22 Dudley transferred from Fort Stanton to Fort Union.
26-28 Billy meets Jesse James at Hot Springs near Las Vegas (legend).
Aug. 9 Two boys arrested at Roswell for mail robbery, confess they acted under instructions of their brother-in-law, Deputy Hawkins; latter arrested and escapes.
17 (or just prior) Billy escapes Capt. Rucker's 9th Cav. detachment near Lincoln.
17 Hawkins rearrested and confined at Fort Stanton.
23 On application of Sheriff, Lt. French and 15 enlisted men sent to Lincoln to arrest Rustlers. Capture English and confine him at Fort Stanton.

Fall—Frank H. Lea reaches Pecos Valley (later "Judge" Lea of White Oaks).

Oct.—Kid, O'Folliard, Bowdre, and Scurlock steal 118 head of cattle from Chisum at Bosque Grande.

Nov.—Mrs. McSween succeeds Widenmann as administrator of Tunstall estate.

Nov. 30 (Sun.) Kid meets John Chisum at Bob Hargrove's Saloon.

Dec. 1 Dick Hardeman, prisoner in Lincoln jail, killed in jail by mob of 20.

3 Wallace at Mesilla.

6 Trial of Dudley for burning McSween house, reopens at Mesilla. Rynerson, prosecutor, Dit. Att'y. Barnes for defense.

9 After three minutes deliberation, jury acquits Dudley on charges preferred by Mrs. McSween who failed to attend trial.

1880 Jan. (and prior?) County Clerk Ben Ellis occupies office space in former Tunstall store now operated by LaRue and rented from Mrs. McSween, administratrix, who is living in Baca house in apparent affluence.

10 (circa) *Kid kills Joe Grant* in Valdez' (or Beaver Smith's or Bob Hargrove's?) Saloon at Fort Stanton.

14 Patricio Garrett (sic) and Polinaria Gutierrez; Barney Mason and Juana Madrill married in double wedding at Anton Chico, by Father A. Redin.

Jan. and Feb. Territorial legislature in session.

Mar. 5 Wallace leaves on one of his frequent absences from state; Ritch in charge, favors drastic measures against lawlessness.

Apr. 20 Wallace in New York.

May 19 Wallace in Crawfordsville.

June (Early) Wallace returns to New Mexico.

20 Sue E. McSween and George Barber married at Lincoln.

June-Sept. Wallace issues death warrants for Grant County murderers.

July 3-4-5 Mob violence at Lincoln with killing of Harrison, another prisoner, and Deputy Sheriff H..... at Lincoln jail.

Aug. 26 Capt. Nevill intercepts letters from Jesse Evans and fellow prisoners at Fort Davis to "friend of Evans calling himself Billy Antrim" urging rescue.

Oct.—Garrett becomes Deputy Sheriff and takes up counterfeiting case (Billie Wilson?-RNM) using Mason as spy in White Oaks.

Mid-Sept. to Nov. 25 Wallace absent from N. M. on leave.

Nov. 11 (?) Garrett defeats Kimbrell for Sheriff.

23 (Tues.) Coyote Springs fight — Hudgen's and Kid's horses lost.

27 (Sat.) Carlysle killed at Greathouse Ranch.

Dec. 7 Wallace writes Schurz "privately advised new LC trouble." — Tom O'Folliard and Tom Pickett fight Barney Mason and posse.

12 Kid writes his version of Carlysle killing, etc. to Wallace.
13 (Mon.) Wallace offers $500 reward for Kid.
14 Wallace applies for 20 day leave and reports to Washington that new Deputy Sheriff made 5 important arrests, Cook, Webb, Davis, etc.
(Tues.) Garrett, Stewart and Mason leave Las Vegas to overtake Stewart's posse and turn them back.
Garrett, Stewart posse starts for Fort Sumner.
18 (Sat.) *O'FOLLIARD KILLED* by Garrett posse, Fort Sumner.
21 (Tues.) *BOWDRE KILLED.* Kid, Rudabaugh, Wilson, etc. captured at Stinking Springs.
21 (Midnight) Garrett and prisoners at Gearhart's ranch.
25 (2 P.M.) Garrett and prisoners at Puerto de Luna.
26 (early A.M.) Garrett and prisoners at Hay's ranch.
26 (2 P.M.) Garrett delivers prisoners to Las Vegas jail.
26 (Sun.) Wallace leaves Santa Fe for visit East.
27 (Mon.) Garrett boards train at Las Vegas for Santa Fe with prisoners.

1881 Jan. 1 Kid writes to Wallace (letter not received until W's return early in Feb.)
1 Garrett takes oath of office and officially becomes sheriff.
— Lincoln County purchases "The House" from Catron interests.
12 (Wed.) Santa Fe, New Mexican prints item that E. A. Fiske received from Wallace *APPROVED* bill of Pat Garrett for $500 reward.
Feb. 10 (Thur.) Wallace returns to Santa Fe, leaving immediately for Silver City mining district.
16 Dave Rudabaugh pleads guilty to robbery in Santa Fe.
Mar. 4 Kid writes from Santa Fe jail and Wallace at Santa Fe receives long letter of appeal.
9 Wallace tenders resignation to Garfield.
15 Las Vegas Gazette reports Wm. Bonney "the Kid" indicted by the grand jury for cattle stealing.
27 Kid from Santa Fe jail writes his last letter to Wallace.
Apr. 6 (Wed.) Defended by Ira E. Leonard, Kid's indictment re Roberts' killing quashed by Judge Bristol of U. S. District Court.
8 (Fri.) Judge Bristol as Judge of Territorial Court appoints A. J. Fountain and John D. Bail to defend Kid re Brady killing.
9 (Sat.) Jury finds Billy guilty of murder of Sheriff Brady.
13 (Wed.) *Kid sentenced to hang* between 9 A.M. and 3 P.M., May 13th at Lincoln. 2nd indictment in Territorial Court nolle prossed.
16 (10 P.M.) Kid leaves Mesilla guarded by Bob Ollinger, Dave Woods (Deputy Sheriff Doña Ana Co.) and Tom Williams, Billy Mathews, John Kinney, D. M. Reade, W. A. Lockhart.
21 (Thur.) Kid delivered to Garrett's custody at Fort Stanton and is locked up in newly acquired Lincoln Court House.
28 (Thur.) *Ollinger and Bell killed,* Kid escapes.

30 (Sat.) Bob Davis brings horse to Kid at home of Petronillo Sedillo, en route to Fort Sumner, center of his activities thereafter.
May 1 (Sun.) Kid visits Casemide Bryesca.
7 (Sat.) Wallace offers $500 reward for Kid (second).
June Garrett returns order of execution.
4 (Sat.) New Governor of New Mexico, Gen. Sheldon, reaches Santa Fe, relieving Wallace.
July 14 (Thur.) *KID KILLED.*
17 LaRue in Las Vegas.
19 (Tues.) Garrett reaches Santa Fe from Las Vegas where he announces intention to resign as Sheriff.
21 (Thur.) Garrett claims $500 reward (2nd claim).
Sept. 23 Rudabaugh escapes Las Vegas jail and departs for Mexico.

1882 Jan. Legislature passes bill for "Relief" of Garrett, $500.

1884 Apr. 1 Juan B. Patrón killed, Puerto de Luna.
Nov. 6 Lincoln Golden Era advertises: M. A. Upson, Conveyancer, Seven Rivers; J. J. Dolan, Gen. Mdse., Lincoln; Isaac Ellis' New Store, Lincoln; J. H. Blazer, Indian Trader, South Fork. J. J. Dolan was Sect'y, Lincoln County Stock Assn.; J. N. Coe moved from Santa Barbara, Calif. to Ruidoso with brother Frank. Stock brands posted for Bryan & Gunter, C. H. Slaughter, J. A. LaRue, Pat Garrett, W. W. Brazil, Emil Fritz, Poe & Goodin. Pat Garrett and W. L. Rynerson delegates to Stockmen's Convention, St. Louis. John W. Poe was Sheriff, S. R. Corbet, Probate Clerk.
Dec. 20 Chisum dies.

1889 Riley is Assessor of Doña Ana County.

1891 Sept. 15 Sue McSween Barber files suit for divorce.

1898 Feb. 26 (Sat.) J. J. Dolan dies, Rio Felix ranch.

1908 Feb. 29 *PAT GARRETT KILLED.*

1909 May 4 Brazel acquitted for Garrett murder.

1910 Apr. 29 N. A. M. Dudley dies.

1912 County seat moved from Lincoln to Carrizozo.

1921 May 21 Thomas Benton Catron dies.

1922 Dec. 10 William H. Antrim dies, Adelaida, Cal.

1930 Nov. 25 Joe Antrim dies in Denver, Colo.

Ref

New Mexico Historical Review

Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

KANSAS CITY MO.
PUBLIC LIBRARY
APR 17 1958

April, 1958

Editors

FRANK D. REEVE PAUL A. F. WALTER

Associates

PERCY M. BALDWIN GEORGE P. HAMMOND
FRANCE V. SCHOLES ELEANOR B. ADAMS
BRUCE T. ELLIS

VOL. XXXIII APRIL, 1958 NO. 2

CONTENTS

Page

The Apache and the Government—1870's
Ralph H. Ogle 81

The Land of Shalam (*concluded*)
K. D. Stoes 103

The Public Domain in New Mexico 1854-1891 (*concluded*)
Victor Westphall 128

Notes and Documents 144

Book Reviews 156

THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. Frank D. Reeve, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXXIII APRIL, 1958 NO. 2

THE APACHE AND THE GOVERNMENT—1870's

By RALPH H. OGLE*

THE United States Government has pursued few policies more disgraceful than those which governed its relations with the savage Indians of the Western frontier. To characterize these relations as *A Century of Dishonor*,[1] as Helen Hunt Jackson did in her literary arraignment of the federal Indian policy, is grossly unfair, but to say that they were marked by grievous mistakes and outright graft on the part of the government and its officials in the field is merely to confirm the opinions of those intelligent men best acquainted with conditions in the Indian country. Colonel Henry Inman, who knew the frontier well, declared forcibly in 1897 "that, during more than a third of a century passed on the plains and in the mountains, he has never known of a war with the hostile tribes that was not caused by broken faith on the part of the United States or its agents."[2] And even earlier, in 1885, General Crook penetrated to the very heart of the problem when he wrote that "greed and avarice on the part of the whites—in other words, the almighty dollar—is at the bottom of nine-tenths of all our Indian trouble."[3] He also said with still greater vehemence in 1886 that "the greed and rapacity of the vultures who fatten on Indian wars have been a greater

* Phoenix Union High Schools and Junior College, Phoenix, Arizona.

1. Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor, A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* (New York, 1881). This famous book, written after conscientious researches in the Astor Library, is a one-sided and almost hysterical presentation of the subject. It had a marked effect on public opinion in the East.

2. Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (Topeka, Kan., 1916), 53.

3. Quoted in John G. Bourke, *On the Border With Crook* (New York, 1892), 464.

obstacle in the path of civilization than the ferocity of the wildest savages who have fought them."[4]

These incriminating conclusions were perhaps not illustrated more concretely in Indian management than in the case of the Western Apaches of Arizona and New Mexico. Indeed, the series of events which produced the notorious Cibicu Outbreak on the San Carlos-White Mountain Reservation of eastern Arizona probably better illustrates the most characteristic defects of the federal Indian policy than any other case in Indian relations.

The White Mountain and San Carlos Reservations, which are actually a single reservation, were set aside in 1870 and 1872 as a home for those Apache Indians who had lived in this region since the advent of the Caucasians.[5] These steps were taken largely as a result of the new Indian policy inaugurated by President U. S. Grant during his first administration; the policy has been commonly known since that time as the "Peace Policy" or the "Quaker Policy."[6]

Because of their superior organization the military authorities were allowed the lead in the management of the Apaches when the reservations were first designated. But early in December, 1872, the Department of the Interior assumed those duties that properly belonged to the Office of Indian affairs, by replacing the military acting agent with a civilian agent, one James E. Roberts of Ohio.[7]

Agent Roberts experienced no outbreaks during his administration which lasted until March, 1876, probably be-

4. General George Crook, "The Apache Problem," in the *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, VIII (Sept., 1886), 268. The Indian Peace Commission of 1867 had much to say on the subject of corruption in Indian management. Its report is printed in *H. Ex. Doc. No. 97*, 40 Cong., 2 sess.

5. For details in the case, including boundaries and descriptions of these reservations, see United States Department of the Interior, *Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reservations, 1855-1912* (Washington, 1912), 7, 31-35.

6. Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers* (Philadelphia, 1899), xvii-xviii; Rupert N. Richardson, *The Commanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Calif., 1933), 324-325; James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1896-99), VII, 109. For an exhaustive study of the "Peace Policy" see E. M. Rushmore, *Indian Policy during Grant's Administration* (New York, 1914).

7. Herman Bendell to Roberts, Dec. 9, 1872, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Superintendent's Letter Book*, II, 9. The Office of Indian Affairs is also known as the Indian Office and the Indian Bureau. These names will henceforth appear variously and will be designated in citations by I. O.

cause the area designated as a reserve for his charges necessitated no radical changes in their habitat or mode of life. In fact, the receipt of regular issues of supplies and rations under the "Peace Plan" made the life of the Indians easier and less precarious.[8] But during this interval of four years the Department and the Board of Indian Commissioners[9] decided that as many of the different Apache groups as possible should be collected upon the White Mountain and San Carlos Reservations. This plan was adopted as one which trended in the direction of efficiency and economy.[10]

The wheels of Washington's officialdom started to turn slowly on this scheme of concentration, but once under way they turned rapidly and mightily; and in February, 1875, the heterogeneous bands of the Verde Valley were moved bodily to the San Carlos Reservation.[11] The next year, in June, 1876, the policy was pushed further by the removal of the incorrigible Chiricahuas from southeastern Arizona to San Carlos.[12] And still later, in May, 1877, the Southern Apaches, among whom were Gerónimo and sixteen other noted rene-

8. Bendell to Gen. O. O. Howard, Sept. 17, 1872, *ibid.*, I, 317-18; William Vandever to Columbus Delano, Oct. 2, 1873, *ibid.*, *Inspectors Files*, 1414. General Howard, as a special commissioner of President Grant and Secretary of the Interior Delano, made two trips to the Apache country in 1872 in the interest of the "Peace Policy." He was preceded in 1871 by Vincent Colyer who, under the authority of the Board of Indian Commissioners, laid the groundwork for the "Peace Policy" among the Apaches. Both men achieved marked success. Howard's reports are given in *H. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 42 Cong., 3 sess., I, Part V, 148-58; Washington (D. C.) *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 16, 1872. His original field reports are collected at the Indian Office in a special file known as the *Howard Correspondence*. Colyer's reports are included in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871*, p. 5, 35, 69-72, 79-80.

9. The Board of Indian Commissioners which was authorized by Congress in the appropriation act of April, 1869, was formally organized in the following June by President Grant. Entirely independent of the Indian Office, it became at once a dominant force in determining the government's Indian policy. The organization and work of this board is discussed in Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activity and Organization* (Baltimore, 1927), 56-57.

10. E. P. Smith to Delano, May 23, 1874, I. O., *Report Book* No. 24, p. 408; J. M. Ferris to Smith, I. O., F 418; *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1874*, p. 107. A detailed discussion of the Apache groups is given by Ralph H. Ogle, "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886" in the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIV (Oct. 1939), 315-19.

11. L. E. Dudley to Smith, April 3, 1875, I. O., D 200; Gen. A. V. Kautz to Col. O. E. Babcock (President Grant's secretary), Oct. 20, 1875, *ibid.*, p. 518. Kautz, who opposed the concentration of the Apaches, sent his version of the removal to Colonel Babcock. The letter thereby came to the personal attention of President Grant.

12. John P. Clum to Smith, Oct. (?), 1876, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876*, p. 12; Thomas J. Jeffords, Oct. 3, 1876, *ibid.*, 407-8; Kautz to Assistant Adjutant General, June 30, 1876, United States Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, 4028. The Adjutant General's Office will be cited hereafter as A. G. O.

gade leaders, were transferred from Cañada Alamosa, New Mexico, to San Carlos.[13] The concentration of the Western Apaches upon one reservational area was now achieved, but the management of the Apaches was still in its infancy.

The bringing together of nearly 5,000 uncivilized and diverse human beings naturally created manifold and perplexing problems of agency administration; and it is much to the credit of the Office of Indian Affairs and its agents that even a mild success attended the initial efforts of civilization among the Apaches. But the nominally successful and highly dramatic administration of John P. Clum at San Carlos had already produced venomous conflicts between the civil and the military authorities, jealousies and fights among the various bands of the reservation, and here and there evidences of graft in connection with the management of the Indians. All of these dangerous, disruptive factors foreshadowed an ominous future.[14]

The origin of the Cibicu Outbreak grew out of a series of troubles and errors which developed into a crisis at the very beginning of the administration of H. L. Hart, who became agent at San Carlos on August 21, 1877.[15] Hart had been in office only a few days when the Southern Apaches, made restless and suspicious by the constant bickering of the agency officials, the lack of supplies furnished them and the many tribal difficulties among their own and other groups, broke out to the number of 310 men, women and children and fled eastward, evidently intending to make a dash into Mexico. Fortunately, a force of agency Indian police and volunteer Chiricahuas overtook and forced the fugitives northward

13. Smith to Clum, April 17, I. O., *Letter Book No. 136*, p. 77; Gen. W. T. Sherman to Gen. P. H. Sheridan, May 1, 1877, A. G. O., 2420; Clum to Smith, May 28, 1877, I. O., S 553. The details of the removal are covered by Clum, "Geronimo" in the *Arizona Historical Review*, I (July, 1928), 37 ff; ———, "Victorio," *ibid.*, II (January, 1930), 82 ff. An interesting account is also given in Woodworth Clum, *Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum* (New York, 1936), xxviii-xxxiii.

14. Clum's work as agent at San Carlos, from 1874-1877, is interestingly but too favorably presented in the *Apache Agent*. An extended article, based on documents in the Department of the Interior, which gives a detailed analysis and evaluation of Clum's administration at San Carlos is in the April (1940) number of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW.

15. Hart to H. Hayt, Nov. 3, 1877, I. O., S 1334.

into Fort Wingate, New Mexico, where they surrendered on October 3, 1877.[16]

The flight of the Southern Apaches engendered a very dangerous attitude among all the Indians of the reservation with the exception of the White Mountain bands; but Hart through tact and General August V. Kautz, the department commander, through increased military vigilance and activity prevented a general uprising.[17] The agent's Indian police, however, formerly so effective under Agent Clum, apparently succumbed to inertia immediately after the outbreak. Yet Hart insisted that the possibility of great danger necessitated that his police force be increased to fifty men. For some obscure reason Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz complied with the request, although in the correspondence he received from Hart it is obvious that the agent's chief interest was centered on the fact that each recruit was to draw a salary of fifteen dollars per month.[18]

Perhaps Hart was honest in his anticipation of great danger from the Indians, but numerous other disruptive factors, such as intrusions of the whites, trouble with employees and a lack of supplies, caused him much grief and lowered the general morale of the reservation. This was especially true in the case of a large number of covetous miners who threatened to seize certain mineral lands which belonged to the Indians.

Since 1875 mining operations had developed to an alarming degree on the western boundary of the reservation, and numerous camps and sawmills subsidiary to them were even in operation well within the reservation limits. Two slight modifications in the boundary had been made to accommodate the advance of the mining frontier, but these, in all likelihood, only encouraged the miners to make further encroachments.[19]

16. Hart to Vandever, Sept. 24, 1877, *ibid.*, *Inspector's Files*, 1732; Sheridan to Adjutant General, Sept. 18, 1877, A. G. O., 5836; Thos. Keams to Maj. H. Jewett, Oct. 3, 1877, *ibid.*, 6629.

17. Hart to Vandever, Sept. 24, 1877, *op. cit.*; Hart to Hayt, Nov. 1, 1877, I. O., S 1344; Kautz to Assistant Adjutant General, Oct. 4, 1877, A. G. O., 6633.

18. Hart to Hayt, July 23, 1878, I. O., H 1237; Hayt to Hart, Aug. 1, 1878, *ibid.*, *Letter Book No. 143*, p. 367; Carl Schurz to Hayt, Sept. 4, 1878, *ibid.*, I 1652.

19. *Arizona Citizen* (Tucson), Sept. 18, 1875; *Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reservations*, 35-36.

In fact, a town named McMillenville, with a population of three hundred persons, had sprung up on the very edge of the reservation.

After other intruders had appropriated all available agricultural, grazing and wooded areas near McMillenville, even as far as six miles within the reservation,[20] several of the Apache headmen concluded that boundary lines should be no more binding on the Indians than on the whites. The seriousness of the situation almost developed into a crisis at this point, for Chief Nadaski actually led his band of eighty-nine persons to a favorite camp ground which was located several miles beyond the reservation limits. The military, fearful of a bloody collision, clamored for the removal of all white intruders from the reservation. But after a few of them had been removed in the vicinity of Fort Apache, Inspector E. C. Watkins prevented further action through a report in which he argued that a large army would be required to prevent the illegal entry of the whites.[21]

Troubled as he was by intruders, Hart was even more handicapped by his employees. Inspector William Vandever predicted in November, 1877, that the "bad lot surrounding San Carlos" would "mislead" the new agent; therefore, when Hart failed to take action against these corrupt men, Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. A. Hayt on March 23, 1878, stepped in and revoked the license of the agency trader, George H. Stevens, because he kept a boarding house where "hard cases" were reputed to live.[22] In a mere gesture of reform Hart now replaced his agency clerk Martin Sweeney,

---

20. Capt. Charles Porter to Post Adjutant (Camp Verde), Feb. 4, 1878, I. O., W 495; Hart to Hayt, Sept. 30, 1878, *ibid.*, H 1695.

21. Gen. O. B. Willcox to Adjutant General, Nov. 27, 1878, A. G. O., 8511; Watkins to Hayt, April 25, 1878, I. O., *Inspector's Files*, 2022. The inefficiency of the Indian Office was demonstrated in August, 1878, when Commissioner Hayt, apparently unaware that Secretary Schurz on March 7 had approved the military's offer to remove intruders upon the request of the agent, informed Hart that no intruders could be ousted without the Secretary's consent. Hayt to Hart, Aug. 7, 1878, I. O., *Letter Book No. 144*, p. 129. Hart now sent Hayt a copy of Schurz's order of approval (Hart to Hayt, Sept. 30, 1878, *op. cit.*); finally, several weeks later, Hayt asked Hart to explain why there had been delay and inaction in complying with Schurz's order of March 7! Hayt to Hart, Dec. 17, 1878, I. O., *Letter Book No. 144*, p. 482.

22. Vandever to Hayt, Nov. 16, 1877, *ibid.*, *Inspector's Files*, 1736; Hayt to Watkins, Mar. 23, 1878, *ibid.*, *Letter Book No. 142*, p. 48.

who "was notoriously a drunkard, gambler and a hard case generally," with George Smerdon, an equally heavy drinker. Even at the San Carlos subagency the personnel was no better, for Ezra Hoag, the official in charge, harbored numerous disreputable characters at a whiskey establishment that he owned and operated.[23]

Hart might have avoided many mistakes had it been possible for him to hire employees of integrity. Unfortunately, such men were unwilling to work for the low salaries paid by the Indian Office when they could earn unusually high wages on the nearby mining frontier; besides, the Territorial merchants refused to accept the salary vouchers of the Treasury except at a discount of twenty-five percent. The situation therefore worked for the retention of the bad men; and still worse as an impediment to honest and efficient agency administration, the Indian Office occasionally sent some totally unfit political appointee to San Carlos.[24]

But Hart's greatest difficulties arose when he allowed graft and fraud to creep into his agency transactions. The year of 1879 had scarcely opened before it was charged that he was selling a vast amount of agency supplies to surrounding stores and mining camps. It was also learned that a reputed insufficiency of flour at the agency had caused him to buy all the surplus flour offered for sale in the open market at Globe, Arizona. The situation became even more intriguing, for the military inspector of agency goods reported that Hart issued only half rations when he made issues at all. A climax was reached when he asked for certificates of inspection to cover consignments of supplies that the inspector

23. Hart to Hayt, May 1, 1878, *ibid.*, H 873; Watkins to Hayt, May 25, 1878, *ibid.*, *Inspector's Files*, 1957.

24. Watkins to Hayt, May 20, 1878, *ibid.*, 1948; Hart to Hayt, Aug. 1, 1878, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1878*, p. 7. A typical case of a political appointee occurred in the summer of 1878 when St. Clair Dearing, a health seeker and a refined and polished gentleman, was appointed chief of police through the influence of Senator J. B. Gordon of Maryland. Dearing was soon in conflict with Hart's appointee, Daniel Ming, whose appointment had been confirmed by the Indian Office after Dearing was appointed! When Hart entered the fray, Dearing blasted the agency administration, hurling grievous charges against the new clerk, Smerdon. In November, worn out and thoroughly hated, Dearing resigned. Hayt to Hart, June 8, 1878, I. O., *Letter Book No. 143*, p. 198; Dearing to Hayt, Oct. 1, 1878, *ibid.*, D 803; Dearing to Hayt, Nov. 5, 1878, *ibid.*, D 936.

had not even seen.[25] This circumstance aroused Commissioner Hayt's suspicion and, early in March, 1879, he directed Inspector J. H. Hammond to investigate the San Carlos Agency.[26]

Evidences of graft were easily found. Hart was not blamed because the irregular freight service sometimes caused his charges to go hungry, but his policy of accepting small consignments of supplies, pending a large accumulation before he asked for military inspection, was open to serious objection. Moreover, his possession of a single can of flour of high quality, from which he could send samples to the Indian Office—supposedly representative of the flour actually received—pointed to a strong possibility of fraud.[27] Beef herds were inspected as soon as they reached the agency and were then returned to the contractor until the time of issuance. Such a procedure indicated that the agent either became the tool of the contractor or played an outright game of graft himself. Inspector Hammond naturally viewed the inspection of the cattle as a "farce" and a possible "cover for fraud," and he ordered a new procedure calculated to solve the problem.[28] This exposé soon brought about Hart's resignation, but most enigmatically Hammond abruptly stopped his investigation and reported that he considered "the interests of the government sufficiently protected by the resignation of the agent."[29]

The inspector for a short time took sole charge of the administration of the agency affairs. But oddly he spent most of his time in the examination of nearby mines; then, with great haste, in May, he went to Washington and New York,

25. Dearing to Gordon, Jan. 15, 1879, *ibid.*, G 47; Gen. Irvin McDowell to Sherman, Jan. 13, 1879, A. G. O., 171; *Arizona Citizen*, Jan. 18, 1879; Capt. W. L. Foulk to Post Adjutant (Camp Thomas), Feb. 24, 1879, A. G. O., 1713. Military inspection of supplies at all agencies was authorized by Secretary Schurz in 1877. Schurz to Secretary of War, April 28, 1877, I. O., Indian Division, *Letter Book No. 18*, p. 154. The inspection was to be made at the time the goods were delivered. *Ibid.*

26. Hayt to Hammond, Mar. 19, 1879, I. O., *Letter Book No. 148*, pp. 148-51.

27. Hammond to Hayt, April 7, 1879, *ibid.*, H 542. One contractor submitted a sample of New England flour as representative of the type to be delivered at San Carlos. The kind actually delivered was Arizona flour. Fisk to Board of Indian Commissioners, Nov. 5, 1879, *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1879*, p. 55.

28. Hammond to Hayt, April 10, 1879, I. O., H 540; George W. McCrary to Schurz, April 30, 1879, *ibid.*, W (?).

29. *Report of Committee of Inquiry*, Jan. 31, 1880, *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1879*, pp. 68-70.

taking with him a mine bond signed by former Agent Hart and a certain party named Fuller.[30]

Although Inspector Hammond tarried in the East for only a few days, he completed certain mysterious business arrangements with a dispatch too perfect to justify the belief that they were within the bounds of legitimacy. He then sped back to Arizona where he justified his return on the grounds that he had decided to reopen his investigation of the San Carlos Agency. But instead of searching for further evidences of graft he went to the western boundary of the reservation and by a dishonest survey excluded from the reserve a mine that former Agent Hart had recently sold to one "Edward Knapp" who, in reality, was Edward Knapp Hayt, the son of Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. A. Hayt.[31] Also, it was later disclosed, Hammond secretly informed Hart that he need fear no prosecution for the frauds that had been detected at San Carlos.[32]

Reports from various sources now told of graft and collusion on the part of Hammond and Hart,[33] and no less a figure than General Clinton B. Fisk, President of the Board of Indian Commissioners, decided to investigate personally the affairs at San Carlos. His report, which he submitted in November, 1879, revealed a disgraceful state of affairs at the agency. Indeed, his own words best describe the low level to which the management of the Apaches had fallen:

> Our Indian administration is made a stench in the nostrils of honest men by the shameful practices and personal conduct of our officials. . . . San Carlos has suffered through the administration of a mining speculator, conducting his mining through means derived from the sale of agency supplies. Sugar, coffee, meat, blankets were taken by the load from our warehouse to his mining camps. The purchase and sale of mines absorbed

30. *Arizona Citizen*, May 16, 1879; McDowell to Adjutant General, May 29, 1879, I. O., *Secretary's Files*, Appointments Division, 564. The *Secretary's Files* dealt with delicate subjects over which a tight censorship was maintained. This is the first time these files have been examined by a research student.

31. *Report of Committee of Inquiry*, Jan. 31, 1880, *op. cit.* The deed to the mine was taken in the name of C. D. Deshler, a director of Hayt's Trust Company in New Jersey, an associate in business with Commissioner Hayt's son-in-law. New York *Tribune*, Dec. 22, 1879.

32. Hammond to Hart, July 7, 1879, in *ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1880.

33. E. B. French (Second Auditor, Treasury) to Hayt, June 16, 1879, I. O., A 443; Benj. Turner to Schurz, July 10, 1879, *ibid.*, I 899.

> his time and thought. Finally, by the aid of one of our inspectors, he was enabled to sell his mines for a large sum and quietly leave the country, in genial social relations with the said inspector, who had been sent there to investigate abuses, and, as he said, to prosecute the agent.[34]

Several weeks later, at a meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Fisk charged that Hammond had engaged in practices of graft with the consent and coöperation of Commissioner Hayt whereby the latter and his friends were to receive special benefits. Evidence was also submitted to show that Hayt had refrained for several months from reporting to Secretary Schurz some of the most serious charges of graft.[35] Drastic action was soon taken by the much perturbed and highly conscientious Secretary. On January 29, 1880, he went to the office of Commissioner Hayt, relieved him of his position and gave him one hour in which to clear his desk.[36]

The elimination of Hart and Hayt from the Indian Service allowed only a brief respite in the gross mismanagement of Apache affairs. But during this interval of nearly a year the supervision of the Apaches was temporarily entrusted to an army man, Captain Adna R. Chaffee, who was relieved from active duty at Fort McDowell to assume the office of special agent at San Carlos.[37] Chaffee with a spirit of honesty and reform attacked the problems which now confronted him. First, he won the respect and confidence of the Indians by a stern insistence upon order and discipline; then, by a close adherence to strictly businesslike methods, he made it difficult for the grafters to operate. He also used the artifices of a detective in his attack on corruption and graft at San Carlos, and in the case of the agency scales found, by marking the true weights, that the men in charge were substituting tampered weights which gave a great advantage to the contractors of agency supplies. The problem of feeding the Indians caused Chaffee little trouble except in the case of flour—this

34. Fisk to Board of Indian Commissioners, Nov. 5, 1879, *op. cit.*

35. New York *Tribune*, Jan. 12, 31, 1880; *Report of Committee of Inquiry*, Jan. 31, 1880, *op. cit.*

36. New York *Tribune*, Jan. 29, 1880.

37. Hayt to Capt. M. H. Stacey, June 16, 1879, I. O., *Letter Book No. 161*, p. 362.

he was forced to purchase in the open market. Unfortunately, the only kind that could be found made the Indians violently sick, by "creating dizziness in the head, sickness of the stomach and finally severe vomiting."[38] These results, however, may have had much to do with keeping the Apaches peaceable and off the warpath.

Despite the fact that Captain Chaffee had proved himself to be a successful Indian agent, Secretary Schurz replaced him on May 4, 1880, with a highly recommended civilian, J. C. Tiffany of New York—a "great worker and a Christian" who had helped supervise the construction of the elevated railways in New York City, and who now came to San Carlos with the approval of the Dutch Reformed Church.[39]

Tiffany took charge of the San Carlos Agency on June 1, and immediately replenished the dwindling beef supply by open market purchases. He next attended to the spiritual needs of his employees by the organization of a Sunday School and a series of Bible readings. Then he formulated plans for the advancement of his charges: a new school building, more irrigation ditches, full rations, the use of the labor of Indians with guardhouse sentences, a protection of the Indians' water rights against the Mormon settlers in the Gila Valley and a general revitalization of the irrigation projects begun by his predecessors—all these were essential points in his impressive program. Also, an item of no small significance in his plans was the construction of a well midway between Globe and San Carlos for the convenience of the freighters of Indian supplies.[40] In less than six months from the time he took office, Tiffany was able to show considerable progress at the agency —at least this was the opinion of General Fisk.[41]

The agent had already stooped to certain administrative

38. Chaffee to P. R. Tully, Aug. 5, 1879, *ibid.*, W 1354; Chaffee to Hayt, Oct. 25, 1879, *ibid.*, C 1090; Chaffee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 24, 1880, *ibid.*, C 1016. Chaffee rechecked one herd of ninety cattle at 6,860 pounds less than they showed on the first weighing.

39. Schurz to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 4, 1880, *ibid.*, I, 259. According to General Fisk, Tiffany would bring about a "new order of things" at San Carlos, Fisk to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mar. 5, 1880, *ibid.*, *Secretary's Files*, 351.

40. Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Jan. 1, 1880, *ibid.*, T 650; Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 15, 1880, *H. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, I, 128; Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 29, 1880, I. O., 1607.

41. Fisk to Board of Indian Commissioners, Nov. 15, 1880, *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1880*, p. 54.

irregularities, however, and he had definitely shown a marked propensity for taking other than the prescribed forms of procedure. Yet he kept himself from an early detection, largely because of his highly cultivated suavity.[42] Even after he was accused of the receipt of several different consignments of cattle at one time, he sent convincing affidavits from his employees that his action was honest. Inspector J. L. Mahan, who was sent to probe the matter, was not so certain about the agent's good intentions; he found that Tiffany not only received the cattle as reported, but that he also returned them to the care of the contractor who, in all likelihood, at a later time, delivered the same cattle to fulfill requests for new consignments.[43] Questions also arose concerning the practices of the agency traders and the agent's proposal to "individualize" the rationing system; but it was not until a bill of lading had been held up that a careful investigation was made.[44]

When Mahan began a close scrutiny of the agency in November, 1880, affairs appeared to be in excellent condition. Nearly all the Indians seemed progressive and happy, and the Indian police maintained the best discipline the inspector had noted among any Indian tribe. Yet serious if not criminal practices were quickly uncovered. Tiffany had signed bills of lading for goods not received;[45] rations had been issued short to account for wastage and shrinkage. Short issues in other instances had obviously been manipulated to the profit of the agent.[46] Mahan also found that the agency butcher received his pay in hides instead of cash—a scheme whereby graft was almost a certainty. Even in the case of the well—"Tiffany's Well"—between Globe and San Carlos, the inspector decided that Tiffany deliberately planned to make great profits at public expense. These gross abuses should have

42. His criticism of the military inspection of supplies was never direct. Thus, he escaped the officers' censure. He did attack the system in his regular agency reports. Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 17, 1880, I. O., 1313.

43. Mahan to Schurz, Nov. 18, 1880, *ibid.*, *Secretary's Files*, 314.

44. E. M. Marble to Tiffany, Sept. 3, 1880, *ibid.*, *Letter Book No. 154*, p. 644; Mahan to Marble, Nov. 2, 1880, *ibid.*, M 2200.

45. He had receipted for 15,251 pounds of sugar when only 2,168 pounds were received; 3,349 pounds of coffee when none were received; and 5,000 pounds of tobacco when 4,000 pounds were received.

46. Mahan found that 16,895 pounds of common groceries had been accumulated to the agent's profit.

caused the immediate removal of the agent; instead, Secretary Schurz, probably moved by Mahan's extraordinary view that Tiffany was honest in motive, endorsed on the report his approval of the agent's efforts to civilize the Apaches, and retained him in office.[47]

This disclosure did not lessen Tiffany's energy and during the next few months he made a sufficient show of progress in the fields of agriculture, construction work and reservation discipline to sharply impress his superiors. In fact, when he proposed that the Indians be allowed to live anywhere on the reservation rather than near the agency the Office of Indian Affairs, despite its long adherence to a policy of concentration within the reservation, actually approved his plan.[48]

But the shift to a new policy of decentralization created a very difficult problem, for Indians away from the agency could not be restrained from buying liquor, and Indians at large were made exceedingly resentful when they saw the full extent of intrusions at first-hand. In reality, the troublesome question of intrusions had already developed from a serious problem into a crisis.

The mad rush of several hundred rapacious miners into the McMillen District, from 1875 to 1878, has already been noted. This ominous development was paralleled during the next two years by a heavy wave of Mormon immigration into that part of the Gila Valley centered by the present Safford, Arizona. After a short interval the Mormons diverted enough water from the Gila to result in partial crop failures for the aspiring Apache farmers down the river. In spite of his prediction that the agitated Indians would cause serious trouble should the intrusions continue, Inspector Mahan in late 1880 failed to get the reservation demarcated by an official survey.[49] While officialdom was still pondering over his report a large influx of Mormons into the region west of Fort Apache practically placed the situation beyond Tiffany's control. Then, in March, 1881, the discovery of coal on the southern

47. Mahan to Schurz, Nov. 18, 1880, *op. cit.*

48. Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 6, 1881, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1881*, pp. 7-8; R. S. Gardner to Samuel J. Kirkwood, Aug. 22, 1881, I. O., 15787.

49. Mahan to Schurz, Nov. 18, 1880, *op. cit.;* Hiram Price to Tiffany, May 23, 1881, I. O., *Letter Book No. 162*, p. 65.

boundary of the reservation brought another desperate rush of irresponsible miners toward San Carlos; this time they came within fourteen miles of the agency.[50] Tiffany immediately secured military aid, ousted the intruders and then made a lease which provided that the tribesmen were to receive royalties on all minerals taken from the reservation.[51] But this did not end the trouble.

Many of the bewildered Apache bands, in the meantime, were rendered desperate by the continuous assaults on their lands and, in an effort to escape from their adversities, fell under the influence of Nocadelklinny (One Bound To Command)—a medicine man said to be guided and inspired by Gerónimo.[52]

Nocadelklinny, it appears, first gained fame during the summer of 1881, when he proposed to resurrect two prominent White Mountain chiefs who had been killed in tribal feuds. With a claim of divine revelation he started a series of impressive dances around the graves of the dead chieftains. As the weeks passed hundreds of Indians intoxicated with excitement resorted to the spectacular scene. But the resurrection failed to materialize and Nocadelklinny, threatened with violence, allayed suspicion by the announcement that the whites would have to be exterminated before the corn ripened if the leaders were to be restored to life.[53]

This proposal caused General Eugene A. Carr, commandant at Fort Apache, to report the situation on August 1, 1881, to headquarters, with a request for instructions. Five days later the department commander, General O. B. Willcox, ordered Carr to take all steps necessary to prevent trouble,

50. Tiffany to Price, Jan. 31, 1881, *ibid.*, 845; Tiffany to Price, Mar. 7, 18, 1887, *ibid.*, 4854.

51. Tiffany to Price, May 30, 1881, *ibid.*, 6912. Graft was indicated when a $1,000 advance payment was allowed in persuading fifty-three chiefs and headmen to sign the lease. Secretary Kirkwood disapproved the action in August. Kirkwood to Price, Aug. 3, 1881, *ibid.*, 13503. See also New York *Herald*, Sept. 6, 1881.

52. Clum, *Apache Agent*, 265. This movement of the Apaches contained elements of the Ghost Dance Religion of a later day. See James Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion," in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, II, 704. Major A. K. Arnold believed that the increase in the population of Arizona from 40,400 in 1880 to 82,000 in 1882, explained the Apaches' unrest. Arnold to Assistant Adjutant General, Aug. 20, 1882, (n. f.).

53. A. B. Reagan, MS. No. 2847, Bureau of American Ethnology, 250-255; Tiffany to Commissioner, Aug. 10, 1881, I. O., 15478; E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (20 v., Cambridge, 1907-30), I, 10.

but first to consult with Agent Tiffany. Telegrams now flew back and forth between the agency and the fort, and Tiffany, instead of using his police force to restore order, requested Carr "to arrest or kill the medicine man" when he came to the post. A pessimistic report from the agent on August 13 caused General Willcox to order the arrest "as soon as practicable." Carr hesitated to comply with the order, for he had just confirmed reports that no dependence could be placed in his Indian scouts. He therefore delayed action until all persuasive measures had failed; then he decided to arrest the mystic at his camp.[54]

On August 29 Carr with a command of eighty-five troopers and twenty-three Indian scouts started west from Fort Apache for the Cibicu Creek where Nocadelklinny was encamped with his followers. The column reached its destination the next day and experienced no difficulty in making the arrest, but the day was so nearly spent that a camp site had to be selected only a short distance from the Indian village. Furthermore, the general apparently did this in utter disregard of the suspicious actions of the one hundred heavily armed warriors who followed his column. He soon realized his mistake, for his men had scarcely laid down their arms before the Indians and several of the scouts began to fire on the troops led by Captain E. C. Hentig. Within an instant the captain and six of his men had been shot down. The Indians were soon repulsed, but it is highly probable that darkness alone saved the command from annihilation. After a hasty burial of the dead the column, greatly handicapped by a loss of fifty-one mounts, pushed forward and, without further molestation, reached the fort the next afternoon.[55]

Meanwhile, a considerable number of the Cibicu Indians, reinforced by several of the treacherous scouts, discovered a

54. Capt. Harry C. Egbert to Assistant Adjutant General, Dec. 10, 1881, A. G. O., 406. Captain Egbert's thorough investigation of the Cibicu Outbreak, ordered by General Willcox, embodies most of the correspondence in the case. See also Carr to Tiffany, Aug. 29, 1881, I. O., 16849; Tiffany to Commissioner, Oct. 18, 1881, *ibid.*, 18808.

55. Carr to Assistant Adjutant General, Sept. 2, 1881, *H. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., 143; *Arizona Citizen*, Sept. 11, 1881. Although Nocadelklinny offered no resistance at the time of his arrest or afterward, yet he was wantonly murdered by his guard at the beginning of the mêlée. Ironically, the medicine man wore about his neck a peace medal that he had received from President Grant in 1871. Frank C. Lockwood, *The Apache Indians* (New York, 1938), 235.

dead pack mule with a full load of ammunition. This fortuitous circumstance emboldened them to such a degree that they hastened on to Fort Apache where other disaffected bands joined them in a sharp attack on the post. Fortunately, they lacked able leadership, otherwise the post would have fallen.[56] Simultaneously, another group of Cibicu warriors under Chief Nantiatish made a murderous and destructive raid which led all the way from Pleasant Valley and the Cherry Creek region back to the vicinity of Fort Apache. They then planned a general uprising in which the strong bands of Chiefs Pedro, George and Bonito were to join them in a concerted attack against San Carlos. Pedro's band, however, disheartened by the recent abortive attack on Fort Apache, had taken refuge at a nearby ranch where, strange as it may seem, they were joined by most of the panic-stricken whites of the region. The bands of George and Bonito were also discouraged, for they had expected Nocadelklinny to ascend from the grave. But a greater deterrent to hasty action, perhaps, was the numerous bodies of troops that converged on the reservation from every direction. For a short time approximately two hundred of the hostiles lingered menacingly near their rendezvous on Black River. Fear then seized the group and all but sixty of the most embittered among them stealthily rejoined their families.[57]

It was unfortunate that the stiuation was not allowed to settle itself at this point. If the agency police had been allowed to ferret out the ringleaders and apprehend the few recalcitrants at large, the trouble would have ended in a few weeks. But dishonest agency officials and ambitious military officers suffered no restraints; the Apaches were still mere pawns in the games of their unscrupulous masters.

The entire United States War Department became electrified with an anticipation of "glory" as soon as the in-

56. Carr to Assistant Adjutant General, Sept. 18, 1881, A. G. O., 4327. During the time of Carr's expedition and immediately afterward, it was estimated that at least twenty whites were ambushed along the trails and passes in the region of hostilities. *Arizona Citizen*, Sept. 4, 11, 18, 1881.

57. E. D. Tussey, *The Apache Wars in Arizona, 1880-1887* (MS. M. A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1926), 52-53; Carr to Assistant Adjutant General, Sept. 18, 1881, *op. cit.*; Egbert to Assistant Adjutant General, Dec. 10, 1881, *op. cit.*

telligence of the Cibicu fight reached Washington. Heavy reinforcements were rushed in from California and New Mexico, and General William Tecumseh Sherman demanded a war of extermination in which he wanted "results not intentions." The regular troops rather than the Indian scouts were to slaughter the hostiles so that the "effect" on the survivors would be permanent. A decisive blow was to be given the Apaches even if it took "every available man in the whole army."[58] In fact, the general of the army, from his office in Washington, almost directed the field operations.[59]

The heavy movement of troops to the troubled area so overawed the hostiles that small parties of them, upon receiving promises of a fair trial, began to surrender at the agency. But simultaneously a number of the guilty chiefs, supported by about sixty aggressive recruits, secreted themselves at an isolated point on the reservation, evidently hesitating to join a band of renegades reported to be raiding in New Mexico.[60] Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price now decided that most of the Indians were merely victims of circumstance. He therefore set aside a portion of the reserve by a "peace line," which arrangement, he thought, would afford the innocent Indians proper protection and at the same time not contravene General Sherman's orders that troops in pursuit of hostiles were to ignore reservation boundaries.[61] The hostiles, however, took such advantage of the peace zone that General Willcox was prevented from striking the decisive blow desired by General Sherman.

The agency police force, whose loyalty remained unquestioned, was ordered to apprehend and bring in the incorrigible ringleaders. This work was quickly completed, and after some sixty of the arrested warriors had been incarcerated the Cibicu outbreak and its attendant troubles appeared to be at an end. But, enigmatically, Chiefs George and Bonito,

---

58. Sherman to Adjutant General, Sept. 10, 1881, A. G. O., 5361; McDowell to Adjutant General, Sept. 11, 1881, *ibid.*, 5369.

59. Sherman's part in the drama is set forth in *H. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 47 Cong., 2 sess., 144-46.

60. Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 25, 1881, I. O., 17376.

61. Price to Secretary of the Interior, Oct. 24, 1881, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1881*, p. 9.

who were supposed to remain in custody at Fort Thomas, were given a military parole at this crucial moment.[62]

Within a few days the military at Fort Thomas repented of their thoughtless action, and after some hesitation sent a strong force of cavalry to arrest the two chiefs and their bands. When the troops reached the subagency on September 30, Colonel James Biddle, the commanding officer, delayed taking the bands into immediate custody in order to facilitate the completion of a weekly ration issue which was then in progress. Much temporizing followed and late in the afternoon the chiefs sent word that the troops need not wait for the Indians, as they would soon follow with the subagent. The colonel insisted that they must go at once, and he started his command toward George's camp. When the troops drew near, George and Bonito, crying out that an attack was about to be made, ran into the Chiricahua camp. This was too great a danger for such suspicious warriors as Juh, Gerónimo, Chatto and Nachee to overlook. Within a few hours they and seventy other Chiricahuas—"literally scared away"—were well on the way to their old haunts in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Old Mexico.[63]

Efforts were now redoubled to force in all the disaffected warriors among the White Mountain bands. The agency police aided by the military promptly arrested more than one hundred suspects. Nothing more remained to be done except to try and punish the prisoners according to their individual crimes. A general hanging was at first suggested,[64] but when General Irvin McDowell, commanding the Division of the Pacific, insisted that official bungling had forced the Indians to protect their rights, the official sentiment swung in the Indians' favor.[65] Accordingly, a general court martial found

62. *Ibid.;* Willcox to Assistant Adjutant General, Dec. 12, 1881, A. G. O., 4983.

63. Hoag to Tiffany, Oct. 1, 1881, I. O., 18075; Sherman to Robert T. Lincoln, April 14, 1882, A. G. O., 1859.

64. Tiffany to Assistant Adjutant General, Sept. 5, 1881, I. O., 16849; Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 1, 1881, *ibid.*, 18075; Carr to Assistant Adjutant General, Nov. 5, 1881, A. G. O., 6267. Tiffany charged that during the fall of 1881 small military commands scoured the sequestered parts of the reserves and killed a number of old and decrepit Indians who were out gathering those remnants of their corn crop which had escaped the military's program of general destruction. Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 6, 1881, I. O., 21916.

65. McDowell to Adjutant General, Dec. 26, 1881, A. G. O., 406; See also the Tombstone *Epitaph*, Oct. 3, 1881.

that three military scouts, Dead Shot, Dandy Jim and Skippy, were guilty of treason; they were publicly hanged on March 3, 1882, at Fort Grant.[66]

The Cibicu Outbreak and its resultant troubles should have cleansed Tiffany's administration; instead, graft and corruption ran riot. Tiffany, it appears, practiced dishonesty in every phase of reservation management. In March, 1881, an official of the Department of the Treasury noted that the agent had established a ranch near the well on the Globe-San Carlos road, where he was branding government cattle with his private band.[67] Inspector R. S. Gardner, who investigated the agency affairs in August, found that the charge was not only true but that the cattle were fed on government grain. He also learned that the ranch was a center for the distribution of government wagons and animals to the general public as well as a mart where the Indians sold at a low price the animals given to them by the government.[68]

Gardner found conditions equally corrupt at the agency proper. Certain salaried employees were allowed extra pay for special work that Tiffany gave them, and one of them was assigned to the agent's ranch where he herded the cattle that the agent stole from the government. The agency blacksmith not only spent most of his time doing public work for pay but he actually charged the government's Indian scouts for shoeing their mounts.[69] But the inspector soon discovered that Tiffany and his henchmen derived their greatest gains from their dishonest handling of the regular agency supplies.

66. Sherman to McDowell, Feb. 27, 1882, A. G. O., 853; Capt. W. L. Foulk to Assistant Adjutant General, April 7, 1882, *ibid.*, 1665. Most of the prisoners were liberated within a short time, but apparently the process was not completed until General Crook in October, 1882, decided to give the remaining renegades "another chance." Department of Justice to Henry M. Teller, July 24, 1882, I. O., 13508; P. E. Wilcox to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 23, 1882, *ibid.*, Indian Division, 19739.

67. J. D. Bartlett to Secretary of the Interior, Mar. 29, 1881, *ibid.*, *Secretary's Files*, 314.

68. Gardner to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 13, 1881, *ibid.*, 735.

69. *Ibid.* By furnishing to private contractors government hardware and lumber, and sometimes the services of the agency carpenter, graft was also extended to the agency construction work. On one building Tiffany gained his end through the medium of a contract. First, a contract was let to one John Redstone to build a $1,000 structure. Next John Redstone Gilman, an agency employee at $900 per year and evidently the same person as John Redstone, took over the contract from Redstone by signing himself as J. R. Gilman. Finally, Subagent Ezra Hoag certified that the building was finished, and thus the circle of graft was completed. John A. Wright (Inspector) to Price, July 27, 1882, I. O., 14184.

Large amounts of goods that were never accounted for were sold to the agency personnel.[70] Great numbers of blankets intended for distribution among the Indians were hauled away to Indian traders. Heavy consignments of Indian goods were frequently sent from the subagency to the post trader, J. B. Collins of Fort Thomas who, in his other official capacity of deputy United States marshal, evidently had his fellow legal authorities intimidated. In some cases original consignments of goods were delivered directly to Collins rather than to the San Carlos agency, but in these instances the regular agency storekeeper receipted in full to the obliging freighters.[71] It was even shown that vouchers covering supply and ration issues were signed whenever convenient—and then usually by some willing individual who seldom saw the issues for which he attested.[72]

Why Tiffany's villainous administration was not brought to an early end is not clear. Commissioner Price recommended his removal in April, 1881, and later in the year the Department of the Interior was reported to be looking for a new man.[73] But political collusion, Indian troubles and the agent's convincing denials of guilt evidently stayed the end for a year longer. In fact, Tiffany was not removed; he resigned on June 30, 1882, for reasons of business necessity and health.[74]

The retirement of Tiffany as agent at San Carlos brought to a close one of the most corrupt agency administrations in the history of Indian management; and, significantly, it was

70. Gardner noted that two sales of over $500 were unreported. *Ibid.*

71. Gardner to Kirkwood, Aug. 30, 1881, I. O., 15865; Wright to Price, Aug. 3, 1882, *ibid.*, 14491. Colonel Richard I. Dodge wrote in 1877 that only 5-20 per cent of the congressional appropriations for the Indians ever reached them. See his *The Plains of the Great West and their Inhabitants* (New York, 1877), 46.

72. Affidavits of Ellsworth and Ezra Hoag, July 24, 1881, I. O., 14491. The Tucson firm of Lord and Williams had close connections with Tiffany during this period. On one occasion Tiffany threatened that if Dr. C. H. Lord did not send a clerk to make the agency books "agree . . . I am determined not to be the only one who suffers." Tiffany to Lord, May 11, 1881, *ibid.*, 21071. This letter was seized by the United States marshal in 1883. Charles Poston wrote that Lord and Williams "acting under the patronage of the government at Washington, in connection with Governor McCormick . . . have been the curse and disgrace of this Territory for seventeen years." Poston to Price, Sept. 25, 1881, *ibid.*, 17420.

73. Price to Kirkwood, April 15, 1881, *ibid.*, *Secretary's Files*, 314; The *Republican* (St. Louis), Sept. 14, 1881.

74. Tiffany to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1882, I. O., *Secretary's Files*, 351. The report of the federal grand jury in October, 1882, covering the Tiffany frauds, is given in Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 438-40.

coincidental with the last acts of hostility committed by those Cibicu warriors who remained irreconcilable. A small but desperate group of these vengeful Indians had come to look upon the killing of their medicine man as an act of wanton murder deliberately planned by the troops. And as a result of Tiffany's abominable administration they had finally come to the fatalistic conclusion that no justice could be expected at the hands of the white men. Sixty of the warriors therefore broke out on July 6, 1882, under the leadership of Chief Nantiatish, who hoped to create a general uprising.[75] In an immediate attack on San Carlos they killed Chief of Police J. L. Colvig and three of his Indian police, yet the San Carlos bands rejected the plan of war. Greatly disheartened, the insurgents with a number of stolen squaws struck west to McMillenville, where they staged an abortive attack on the town.[76]

The rapid pursuit of the cavalry dispatched from Fort McDowell now endangered the hostiles, but by taking full advantage of the rough terrain about them they retreated northeastward in safety to the "Big Dry Wash," a forbidding canyon that cuts deeply into the Mogollon Rim. Here, Nantiatish blundered by laying an ambush for Major Chaffee's column. But instead of falling into the trap, Chaffee's force and numerous other bodies of troops that converged towards the scene virtually ambushed the hostiles themselves. The immediate onslaught of the troops on July 17 completely demoralized the Indians, and after Nantiatish and twenty-five of his braves had been slain, the survivors fled panic-stricken to the reservation.[77]

Fortunately, this fight was more than a victory for the whites; it marked the end of an era in Apache affairs. From this time on the Apaches of the San Carlos and White Mountain Reservations, in their slow but upward climb to the life of a civilized people, have chosen the way of peace and patient industry rather than that of the warpath and ultimate destruction. They have been aided in this search for a new life

75. *Report of Crook's Council with Hostile Chiefs*, Sept. 29, 1882, A. G. O., 4874.

76. Dr. S. J. Pangburn (Acting Agent) to Price, July 7, 1882, I. O., 12547.

77. Maj. A. W. Evans to Assistant Adjutant General, Aug. 8, 1882, A. G. O., 4983; Wilcox to Assistant Adjutant General, Aug. 31, 1882, *H. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, I, 150.

by a government with an equally different view—that of friendship, honesty and help, rather than that of hate, injustice and exploitation. As a result of these civilizing forces, both within and without, the Apaches have moved forward in the scale of mankind, and today, with a population of over 7000 souls, they are one of the most healthy and substantial Indian groups in the United States.[78]

78. An interesting discussion of the progress of the Apaches during the last fifty years is given in Lockwood, *The Apache Indians*, 330-44.

THE FRATURNUM

THE LAND OF SHALAM

By K. D. Stoes

(concluded)

The FRATURNUM, the first permanent building, was erected in 1885 by Dr. Newbrough with Mexican labor. It was of Spanish Mission design with a spacious inner court and some 20 rooms on each side for the adult Faithists. Each was furnished with bed and hair mattress, and heated. Later there was running water and baths. The library at the front of the building was used for a time as a nursery for the first babies. A wide veranda squared to the court, and soon became an oasis of roses, iris, hollyhocks, and acacias — a lovely place. A steam laundry at the rear was unique in the West for its complete equipment of copper boilers, stone tubs, washing machines and drains, and efficiently managed by a beloved Chinese servant, Lem Way. About this time Andrew Howland came from Boston to live permanently at the Colony. He was immensely pleased with this first beautiful building — the most thoroughly equipped in the country.

The Home, dedicated to the children and their attendants, was built in 1890 by Howland, also with Mexican labor. It included a large nursery, an adult and children's dining room and kitchen, some 20 bedrooms, and an administrative office. Ten small bathtubs, the first ever brought to the country, warmed the heart to the love of the tiny waifs, splashing and gurgling as they were bathed. Cages of canaries and parrots lent cheer to the playroom, some 60 by 90 feet. Rocking horses and toys gladdened the little lives. A sign on the wall read: "Do Not Kiss the Babies." Another sign gave thought as you entered the office — "What availeth a man to argue." The Children's Home was conceded to be the best building ever erected in the valley. It still stands, proof of its durability, some of the plumbing still intact. A gymnasium was later provided at the corner of the Colony Park near a beautiful fountain, another proof that Shalam was ahead of the time and place, and lovingly planned.

THE TEMPLE OF TAE was one-storied, circular, and conical — a miniature blue firmament, glistening with silver stars. On the altar lay an open copy of *Oahspe*. Copper bells of exquisite tone fed the imagination. Wall-lockers secreted weird vestments and astonishing masks. Manifestations and uncanny ceremonials were a part of the Symbolical ritual of the First Church of Tae. Here, Dr. Newbrough, Faithist High Priest, vested in strange robes, suave, polished, learned, and convincing, presented the precepts of *Oahspe*, and revealed its oracles. Under the panoply of silver stars this modern prophet foretold World War I, the failure of prohibition, the passing of present-day orthodox religion, and the extension of the southern boundary of the United States to the Isthmus of Panama. He predicted the disappearance of tariffs, and in time national boundaries; civil wars in Mexico, the eventual banishment of military forces, the effacement of poverty, and the supremacy of science. He envisioned the United States as the meeting-place of nations — from the East to the West. In medicine he urged against the inoculation of one poison against another. He would heal through raising the vibrations in rhythm with the normal vibrations of the diseased part. The Temple of Tae fell mysteriously in 1900. It was believed its ruin to have been at the command of the then deceased Dr. Newbrough, lest its hallowed walls be desecrated by the wanton unworthy who came and went from Shalam. There were at this time about 20 to 30 Faithists. The children called it "The Spirit House."

Standing isolated, near the river, was THE STUDIO, windowless, silent. To its seclusion the Doctor-medium repaired daily before dawn. Here he supplicated for wisdom; and here in darkness and in trance, ambidextrously, he painted in oils the portraits of the great teachers and prophets of the ages. Hanging in expensive frames were Zarathustra, a y-e-shuah of passionless birth, without evil, whose miracles both Buddhist and Christian have used freely; Abram, a half-breed, a large copper-hued man with black beard, founder of migrations for religion's sake: Po of Jaffeth (China), a lawgiver, contemporaneous with Abram of Persia; Brahma, lawgiver, ranking spiritually highest of all

mortals; and Yutif, his wife, fairest of women; Throthma, builder of the Great Pyramid who labored to immortalize the flesh — greatest medium of all time; Chine, hair like a fox, founder of Chine (China) whose reluctance to war still colors Chinese character; and Ea-Wah-tah, huge North American Indian, taller than any other mortal, with bright shining face of copper, his government the model of independent nations, united in one, the pattern adopted in the formation of the United States of America. There were other portraits, equally intriguing. Strange paintings they were, each with the Star of Light upon the forehead, and faint star-browed spirit shadows peering from dark backgrounds. Several were beautiful; all were historical; and all remarkable.

These were the original paintings hanging in the Church of Tae. These, and others of psychic origin, were preserved by Mrs. Newbrough-Howland in El Paso, after the collapse of Shalam, and were crated in readiness to be shipped to a noted spiritualistic society, when they, with the original manuscript of *Oahspe,* were destroyed by a flash flood from Mount Franklin.

A huge canvas, hanging some 30 feet, and covering an entire wall, represented the false god, Kriste (Christ), who was depicted with flaming sword, surrounded by dead and dying. This satire on the Prince of Peace was never permitted public gaze. It disappeared mysteriously. Mrs. Newbrough-Howland thought it a pity. In a corner niche of the Studio stood a lovely figure, carved from wood by the Doctor when under control. Face and figure were exquisitely proportioned in Greek likeness. When this disappeared overnight, Mrs. Newbrough-Howland wept. She believed it to represent the highest type of physical and spiritual manhood the Faithist could attain.

Inharmonies of food were stressed at Shalam, and elements of foods studied. Advanced experiments in food values were a part of the routine. Andrew Howland ate no underground vegetables. He once limited himself to raw, unsalted cabbage for several weeks, and found that he had gained in weight although working in the fields. A visit to the store-

house caused one to wonder in amazement at the number and names of vegetarian foodstuffs, strange to the eye and palate. Chinese foods were especially prized. Fungoy, a Chinese nut butter, is remembered by all who visited Shalam. Nuts, dried foods, and cheeses were labeled from many parts of the country. Expensive health foods and Battle Creek products were a part of the dietary. Honey was used lavishly. Lentils were a basic food — lentil soup, lentils hashed with potatoes, and lentil loaf. Many Las Cruces housewives were given recipes by the mother of Shalam, who was most generous and neighborly. One remembers that Jacob gave Esau bread and a pottage of lentils: Mrs. Newbrough gave us bread and lentil loaf. It is no exaggeration to say that the good Faithist of Shalam looked upon a leg of lamb with as much horror as an outsider might look upon the roast leg of a man.

Dr. Henry S. Tanner of fasting fame, at one time a country doctor with but little of this world's goods, was an initial member of the Children's Colony, and collaborated in the study of foods; and the merits of diet and fasting. He it was who coined the motto: "Don't dig your grave with your teeth" — at least it was so stated. His 21 day fast at Shalam was followed by a come-back to food through sips of watermelon juice. He suffered no ill effects from fasting although he worked daily, never shirking his share of manual labor. Even though he was a fine specimen of manhood, his fasting habits occasioned many jests. We quote from the New York Sun: "It is said that Dr. Tanner, the returned faster, is going to take 40 Hoosier infants to his ranch in New Mexico and bring them up on a light vegetarian diet, giving them breakfast every morning, but no luncheon or supper. His vegetarian pupils are to be pitied. But so is he. The healthy infant cannot be made to adopt the Tannerian system without adopting a system of kicks, howls, and protests that will make Tanner wish he had never been born; or had been born with a developed appetite." The Rio Grande Republican of Las Cruces speaks of Dr. Tanner as the celebrated starvationist, and quips that a gentleman who can live on nothing will not suffer from a vegetarian diet.

Faithists generally staked health on diet and fasting. There were those who believed in the therapeutical power of the earth's magnetism. Pneumonic victims lay for hours on the earth and died as a result. Anticipating German nudists by half a century, Faithists lay naked behind corral walls; a few benefited. A couch-like box fashioned by Dr. Tanner with glass top and sides lined with violet cloth, may have been the forerunner of the violet ray. Faithists placed in it under a healing sun seemed benefited. All superfluous clothing was eschewed in the interest of health. Hats were banished; hair grew thick on heads and bodies subjected to an unfailing sun; men worked the fields in trousers and sandals. Mr. Howland was twice arrested in El Paso, Texas, for indecent appearance on the streets. He was wearing a Chinese blouse and trousers and blue sash in lieu of suspenders.

Faithists held the power of color to be limitless. There were color harmonies and color repulsions. Color was not substance claimed the modern bible, but the result of vortexian currents which changed from linear to adverse parallelism, and produced various shades. There was Eolin, the Unseen, without shape or person who showed himself in three colors — yellow, blue and red. Yellow was the most sacred color, feeding and stimulating the nerves, and good for the eyes. Blue was regarded a cold color, a cure for baldness, produced sleep, and calmed madness. Water in a blue bottle exposed to the sun relieved gastritis, and was to be recommended for those with violent flares of temper. Red was a warm strong color. Dr. Newbrough favored white in combination with red, while Mr. Howland and Mrs. Newbrough-Howland were most often seen in white, which was a generous color — a giving out — not a new thought. All in all, color was a bit difficult to comprehend.

It is understandable that the colony drew many advanced and radical persons with habits strange to the time. There were those who clumped them all as fools. Acquaintances wondered; servants laughed and pilfered; but friends respected the character of the founders, and were tolerant of the things they could not understand. The press of Boston and New York questioned the efforts of Shalam; sometimes

ridiculed. Local newspapers carried much publicity for the colony, ofttimes ignorant and unfair. But friends to the founders were loyal in great measure. A case, brought against Newbrough and Howland by a member for the recovery of alleged property and labor put into Shalam, was decided against the plaintiff by the Territorial Supreme Court.

Time went on apace. Faithists tranced, spirits rapped and wrote and painted. Friendly spirit-voices called and counciled. Evil spirits made converts. During an epidemic of fever among the children the plaster was scraped from the walls in order to reach and drive out the evil wraiths of disease — more likely as a sanitary measure. That Dr. Newbrough was the most wonderful of mediums was acknowledged; and that certain other Faithists were possessed of psychic power was beyond dispute. Converts and disgruntled ones came and went.

Teachers were brought from Boston. Faithist education was divided into the purely intellectual, the vocational, and the spiritual. The soul must be balanced with the powers of productivity as outlined in *Oahspe*. Boys and girls received the same training, which began with blocks and such tools as led to modeling and drafting parts of the house and the clothing of the body. The body, food, and hygiene necessary for corporeal perfection were taught. Each child owned his own miracle garden — a small seed in the good earth and water made a vegetable which made arms and legs strong to work and to play; a dried bulb, and a miracle lily. The Faithist child was taught both the botany of the growing world and the spirituality underlying all life. The cultivation of angel communication and the proximity of heaven to earth were early established in the child's consciousness. Spirit plays cast by the youngsters prepared the young mind to discriminate between good spirit friends and evil spirits to be avoided.

Adult departments of work were assigned to group architects, agriculturists, dieticians, nurses, housekeepers, and unskilled lower bracket divisions. But few professionals came to Shalam's isolation.

Time passed in the great organizational effort which was the burden of Dr. Newbrough. Converts were generally unskilled, and few of serious purpose. There had been built the Fraturnum, the Children's Home, the Studio, the Temple, and some outbuildings. Cesspools had been installed. Some $30,000 had been spent. The founders had fed, clothed, and housed some 100 itinerant irresponsible and indignant converts who shirked labor. No land had been cleared. The vitally pressing agrarian venture, as yet in incipiency, was to fall on Andrew Howland, and was to depend on the depth of his purse.

It was spring, 1891. Mr. Howland had finished the proofreading of a second edition of *Oahspe*, and was in Boston attending to the publication. Dr. Newbrough was planning a lecture tour of the East, when dark days came to Shalam. The world-spread of influenza reached the valley and swept the colony. Ten persons were gravely ill and several died. The Faithist burial service was read for them, and they were carried from the Church of Tae and laid to rest in a small plot to the south of the Fraternum. Dr. Newbrough, ill from the first, and wasted from fatigue, contracted pneumonia. Against reason, he left his bed to nurse a child through a crisis. He saved the little life, but to lose his own. He died April 22, 1891, with plans for Shalam still in embryonic development.

At his passing Faithists huddled in frightened groups as strange noises, crashings, and whirling of air currents filled the rooms. There was clanking of boards, dishes fell, and furniture turned awry. Nurses and native servants fled in terror, and the children hovered close to "Mama," as Mrs. Newbrough was known to them. A nurse to the writer, a staid woman who "took no stock in spirits," alleged she rushed from the Children's home terrified, and demanded to be sent to Las Cruces. Faithist foundlings, long years divorced from any spiritualist credo, will vouch for the truth of strange manifestations and their fear as they clung to each other at night in bed.

The body of the author of *Oahspe* and leader of The Children's Land was embalmed by Emerson and Mason of El Paso and kept for several days awaiting the arrival of Mr.

Howland from Boston. Oahspian services were held at Shalam. Masonic Brethren conducted grave-side rites, and John B. Newbrough at the age of 63 found final rest in the small cemetery beside the new graves of orphaned children he had fathered.

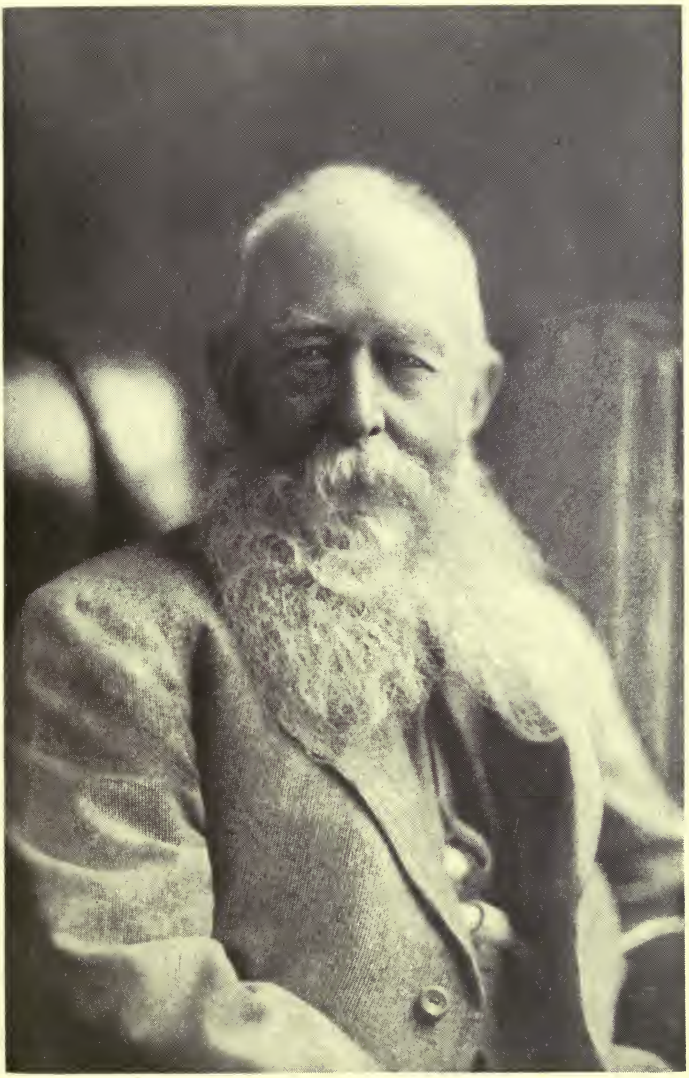
The seer of Shalam was gravely missed, very gravely missed by Andrew M. Howland who took administration of the plant and the future of the children. Howland felt he was neither the executive nor the disciplinarian that Newbrough had been. But his sincerity and honor was to go far. He was a rich man, a good man, and a man of purpose. He had spent almost six years in the colony, and he loved the children now dependent upon his responsibility. He had inherited a colossal obligation, one that would test the quality of a man's soul; that he met the test none can doubt.

Despite his mysticism, his peculiar habits and dress, Howland was a man to whom a man of the world could talk. Easy in manner, ready in conversation, traveled, and thoroughly informed on world affairs, he kept up the traditions of his very notable forebears. Though he took but one meal a day for 30 years, and that of an herbaceous diet, he was a strong argument for his doctrines.

But withal, he was no leader for the miscellany that came to Shalam's door. Some were highly educated, but being unused to the country and to the necessity of manual labor, they left. Both as a Quaker and a Faithist he was ill-fitted to cope with the idler and criminal. But he prayed daily for wisdom, and carried on with hope, industry, purse, and self.

He turned to the land — as yet a virgin wilderness. Not an acre gave profit. But by midsummer a small army of Mexican laborers were clearing the desert shrub, and plows were turning the untrodden soil for fall sowing. Ditches laced the fields. And over all hovered the pleased spirit of Dr. John Newbrough.

Howland was a patriarchal figure, as clad in white trousers, bared feet in sandals, his soft clear skin a tribute to clean living, he carried the burden of the Children's Colony. Galloping the fields, upper torso nude, long white hair flying free, he was thought by the Mexican workmen to be *muy curi-*



ANDREW M. HOWLAND

oso, pero siempre un buen caballero, — very strange, but always a good gentleman.

Time passed as Andrew Howland worked the fields and Frances Newbrough cared for the babies. Tongues wagged as tongues will. Malicious gossip buffeted the character of the colony. Howland and Mrs. Newbrough suffered blackmail and persecution at the hands of fellow Faithists. In deep respect for the woman who had stood the test of her pledge, Andrew Howland asked for her hand in marriage that they might better care for the children for whom they assumed responsibility.

And so it came about that Andrew M. Howland and Frances V. Newbrough were married before a public assembly at Shalam, according to the Order of Faithists on the 184th day of the 55th year of the Kosmon Era, being the 25th day of June, 1893, of the Christian Era. There were nine witnesses to this marriage, the first being John B. Newbrough, a signature not understandable unless it be the spirit of Dr. Newbrough returned to bless the marriage; or, possibly the name of his son who was at that time surveying railroads in the Southwest. This marriage is recorded in Book I, page 98, in the office of the district clerk of Doña Ana County.

The colony was a potentially wealthy one, and the soil rich in the silt of the Rio Grande. Mr. Howland looked to the land for support. Giant sandhills were dragged, and fields cleared and leveled. Irrigation threaded the length and breadth of Shalam. Corn, wheat, barley, sugar cane, beans and peanuts were the first crops. Thirty acres of vineyard and 35 acres of orchard blossomed to peaches, pears, apricots, and plums. Apple trees for shade and fruit lined the avenue leading to the buildings. Experiments in figs, nectarines, and artichokes, all of which were new to the country — except perhaps figs in Mexican patios. All were of the finest varieties, and proved suited to local conditions. Five acres of hotbed were indeed an experiment worthy of better markets than the valley could boast. Vegetable trucking was to follow. All went well so long as water was available from a fickle river.

In the late 1890's a dairy herd of purest breeds, rivaling any west of the Mississippi river, was the pride and hope of

the colony. One hundred cows of Hoard's Wisconsin pedigree and one hundred Guernsey animals from the imported herds of Gov. Morton of New York were shipped to Shalam, a number of the finest by express in order to avoid delays en route, and to insure good care. This was the only herd of Guernseys within a thousand miles.

A butter and cheese plant with churns, separators, sterilizing machines, bottling apparatus, vats and presses was operated by steam power. All milk was weighed and handled by methods far in advance of the time. The market in Las Cruces was limited. Dairy products found uncertain markets in El Paso, some 50 miles distant over an execrable road rutted with sand. Train service was uncertain; ice made in El Paso was as irregular as the trains. Mr. Howland found the expense of dairy products prohibitive.

An elaborate chicken farm with concrete floors and heated runs was a less hazardous venture it was thought. The finest breeds were acquired, segregated, and fed in selective groups — both for broilers and for infertile eggs. Five different poultry experts were brought from the East, and soon 1,000 hens were cackling happily in the yards. Eggs found ready market. It was a fine start; but intelligent help was as scarce as the hen's teeth. Because of an unworthy Faithist, 1,000 broilers froze in one night. Andrew Howland's day began at 4:30 A.M., but often he was obliged to take over the care of the chicken plant. Mrs. Howland pinch-hitted in emergencies when she could leave the children. But neither he nor she could always take on the night shift, and much fine breeding stock was stolen. Soon selective breeds from Shalam's pens were strutting their beauty in the chicken yards of Las Cruces and Mesilla.

Fifteen teams of horses and mules from noted stables, in striking contrast to the razor-backed mustangs and small mules indigenous to the country, were zealously guarded against theft. But many a colt, sired secretly through the connivance of Mexican laborers, and many a good calf, fathered by Shalam's studs and bulls, gave a new genealogy to local livestock. Andrew Howland sighed in despair; but

he did not prosecute, he carried on. His payroll meant much to the valley.

Eight windmills pumped water into two railroad tanks, and pipes carried water to all buildings, barns, corrals, and feed pens.

An irrigation reservoir, the first in the country, had a water storage of an acre of ground and a capacity of some 17,000 gallons. A huge stone well with 60-horse-power boiler and Dean pumps supplied the reservoir. Sixteen miles of piping carried water from the reservoir to the canals when the river was dry. Certainly Shalam had the largest privately-owned irrigation system in the Southwest. Mr. Howland estimated the well had cost him over $30,000 when he became frightened and stopped keeping accounts. He had gone too far to stop.

Three steam tractors, carrying five plows each, turned the soil to planting. The native laborers, one generation removed from the stick plow, watched in amazement the operations of the Colony's strange innovations — the precision of the fields and the amount of work accomplished. They stared in wonder at the hatless, half-nude bearded man who worked so well, yet practiced such strange rites.

Neither labor nor expense was spared to make The Children's Land the land of prophecy and promise, of peace and plenty. Dr. Newbrough had proven himself an amazing composite of the fanatic and the realist; and Andrew Howland was giving his all toward the realization of Newbrough's vision — "a land of peace and plenty."

A one room store with a one man clerk was built in the middle 1890's. It carried food, clothing, and other necessities for the 150 laborers employed on the place, who were often fleeced of their wages by the large general stores in adjacent towns. All goods were sold at cost through coupon books. It was no part of Shalam, but a purely cooperative gesture.

The Shalam plant in the late 1890's included warerooms, machine shops, a store, stables and stock pens. An aviary supplied honey.

The desert land was now taking on the green of an Ar-

cadian meadow. From a colony of tents set up in the sagebrush, it had become one of the most highly cultivated estates in the West. The buildings were substantial and equipped with ventilation and sanitation far in advance of the day. No finer grain was ever grown. Cattle were sleek in the pastures; loving hands cared for the smaller folk. Mexican laborers from nearby villages received a living wage from pleasant taskmasters. But Andrew Howland was worried — where could he sell what he had wrought? Where were the markets he so sorely needed?

In Shalam by the river babies played in the screened pavilion; small tots whisked around the lilacs in the sunshine of the patio, frolicking and growing into sturdiness; larger youth galloped the countryside, discovered nooks and caves with pictographs in neighboring mountains; or picnicked where fancy led them. It was a healthy life — a normal life.

Mr. Howland's habit was to arise at dawn to make French coffee for the attendants. He, himself, ate but one meal a day, and that at evening dinner. He loved to meet the little folks and have them crowd around him, begging for sips of the denied beverage. He bought them pets. There was Joe, the ancient parrot that brooked no familiarities; Frappi, the dog; and several ponies. There were rabbits and a crow and a deer. Lizards, horned toads, and small animals of the earth, and native birds were collected for amusement and education. The children, gingham slips flapping, would come running like quail from all parts of the grounds in answer to his whistle. December 22, Shalam's New Year's Day, was celebrated with a tree and presents for all. Boxes of gifts reached Shalam from Wanamaker's, from Sears Roebuck, Macy's, and from generous people who loved children, and were interested in the Colony for foundlings. But there were nights when strange rappings and spirit voices frightened the children and kept them awake.

The payroll in Shalam's heyday often reached $250 a day. Messengers dispatched to the bank on payday were systematically held up under a large cottonwood tree by masked men who dropped from its dense branches. Finally the bank, un-

hampered by Faithist doctrine, sent an armed guard ambushed to the rear. At the sound of shots the horses became frightened and galloped on to their home corral, carrying the gold to safety. The robbers proved to be a negro barber of Las Cruces and a colored cook named "Quince." Both were defended by Albert Bacon Fall, later Secretary of the Interior.

Levitica

A new venture was undertaken. Levitica was an attempt in the nature of a misericord — a dispensation to those adults of Shalam who desired to retain family life in individual homes, and to live and work in their own way. Three hundred sixty acres of fertile land was laid off into streets 45 feet wide. Twenty houses of three rooms each were erected for the refugees from the world who still desired a part in the building of Jehovah's Kingdom on Earth. Two passenger coaches brought families from Kansas City to Levitica. A home, furniture, dishes, and a private acre of ground were provided for those who would begin a new life. Man and maid should have no fear to marry and rear offspring because they had no place wherein to dwell.

This fine agrarian plan it was thought would make rural life attractive to the young. The further aim was to promote truck gardening with markets in El Paso, Texas. It was a dream — a bad dream. In truth, Levitica never housed more than 100 souls; and they did little for themselves. The new broom swept clean, but not for long. The plan was too Utopian to permit of mortal selfishness. Although land, water, seeds and implements were provided, many gardens died of sheer neglect. Too many had come to *get* — not to *give*. The vicious, the unmoral, and the indigent came and went. The Faithists could not prosecute as their religion forbade retaliation.

After two expensive years and much anxiety over quarrels amongst the Leviticans, Mr. Howland, at their request, chartered two railway coaches and sent them to their destinations, each provided with a reasonable sum for personal

expenses. And Levitica stood desolated — a ghost town. "We have not been able to inspire the right people," Howland insisted to his wife, but she was less tolerant and spoke her mind about Faithists who were never dedicated.

The community store was closed, and the trees on the avenue withered and died. Twenty-two homes stood silent; weeds claimed the streets and gardens. There were spirits abroad at night, but they were of flesh and blood from neighboring towns who stole doors, windows, floors, and water pipes. In 1900 the skeletons of homes, built with such hope by Andrew Howland, and 100 acres of alfalfa were swept into the rampaging Rio Grande. Andrew wept, but he carried on.

There were those who had attached themselves to Shalam and Levitica who whispered there should be a leaning toward freelove. Several undesirable floaters left because of lack of such freedoms. At times an assemblage of personnel with the greatest variety of character fastened themselves on the bounty of Shalam. There were bad men and worse women; there were the heavy and fat-souled who could not hope to grasp the sacrifice of dedication to the colony. There were the saturnine. The most punctilious in some cases were the most latitudinous in others. Advocates of freelove repeatedly tried for place, and were arrogant and threatening when repulsed.

Slackers lounged idly in the comfort of the Fraturnum while Mexican labor was paid by Mr. Howland. The few Faithists who worked were now paid and given board, room, heat and laundry. Comparatively few had contributed any material wealth to the colony, but claimed certain indulgences. There had been no system of mutual criticism as employed at Oneida, and Shalam had never secured an economic independence that would free it to work out its stirpicultural experiment with "the babes the world would not have." There could be no social program under the conditions.

Shalam had sought out a new land, a cruel land. Diversified farming in New Mexico had had little or no recognition. Dairy markets were a future hope. Crops and varieties suited to the soil and to irrigation were to be tested at much expense

of time and money. The New Mexico College of Agriculture, a few miles distant, was in the throes of breaking ground, its advent too new to be of help to Shalam. Drought and irrigation were proving grave problems to the colony. In spring flood the river took unto itself great slices of land, greening with crops; in late summer crops dried in the fields. Drought followed drought and the pumps proved a heavy drain. The wealth of Andrew Howland was taxed to a keen anxiety. Discouraged, but desperate to put Shalam on a paying basis, he planted one crop after another only to plow them under to try others better suited to withstand aridity; and those for which there were probable market. Las Cruces merchants would not handle produce on small margins — and lack of markets was breaking Shalam. Under date of June 9, 1899, the El Paso Herald states that Shalam is not sleeping. We quote: "Evidence of this fact is that Shalam is not particularly grateful to Las Crucens, and will sell no more milk to that city. The colony has put in necessary apparatus for pasteurizing milk, and it will be shipped to El Paso."

The overhead of the big plant grew crushing. Mr. Howland made short trips to the East to secure funds. From one hurried visit to New York he brought back $30,000 from gains in railroad stocks. But conditions were harrowing. Outlying buildings of necessity being closed, were subjected to pillage and arson; herds and poultry runs were depleted by thieving natives and conniving Faithists; fields and orchards were ravaged under cover of darkness. Howland, a Quaker and a Faithist, was powerless to prosecute. He suffered blackmail and violence in the silence of his faith — never to strike back.

Mr. and Mrs. Howland could do little more than hold the colony against a restricted upkeep. The fabric of the children's ancestry was showing in ways that worried the leaders and there came a sad day when the school was closed, and the young Faithists were of necessity sent to a public school in the village of Doña Ana. Supervision was impossible. Two teen-age girls eloped to marry Mexican youths. There were those who rebelled against livestock and farm duties which

had previously been the paid labor of native Mexicans. The problem of the children was more than financial, and disturbed the days and nights of the founders.

By 1900 the awakening had come. A skeleton river bed lay dry; the pumps were silent. One by one the 35 buildings that had recently echoed with life and labor were closed. The exodus of the few remaining Faithist families was staggered over months that still held hope. Some wept as they bade goodbye to the leaders, and the children. But a few imprecated even though Mr. Howland was providing them transportation to destinations of their choice.

Andrew Howland, still responsible to his trust, peddled dairy products, potato chips, candies, cookies, and vegetarian foods from door to door in neighboring villages. At night he counted out his little monies to his wife and the children whose labors had provided his buckboard with saleable viands.

This was the last heroic struggle before the crash. The young people were restless. No high school was existent. The religious customs of the colony gradually lagged and were dropped because of the pressure of work. The simple joys of rural life had lost appeal under the constraints of poverty; the children flinched under the jibes of neighboring youngfolk; in time, they, too, scoffed at the strange rites of Faithist religion. Several wanted to go out into the world; others made tragic efforts to identify themselves with their natural parents.

By 1901 every condition of the Trust had been violated. Since the inception of the colony, the entire moral and financial responsibility for the property and the children had devolved upon Mr. and Mrs. Howland. Both had given years of their lives, and he had already put half a million dollars into the estate. Both he and Mrs. Howland had given the best years of their lives. The break-up of the colony was now full upon them.

In this crisis, Andrew Howland, as Trustee for the children, appealed to the courts to set aside the various transfer of deeds, and to restore the properties to him, agreeing at the same time to see that all the children were placed in

proper homes. There were about 25 children, all under 14 years of age. Under these provisions, Judge Frank W. Parker granted the appeal in the spring of 1901.

Homes were found for the smaller children. A few were placed in a Denver orphanage. A larger group found refuge in a Baptist asylum some eight miles east of Dallas, Texas. We quote the following from a letter from this Home: "On July 11, 1901, the Buckner Home of Dallas, a Baptist institution founded in 1880, received 10 children upon the application of Mrs. Frances Howland of Doña Ana, New Mexico, upon the break-down of an institution at that place. Nothing is known of the history of these 10 children." Several of the younger children were hysterical, crying "Mama, Mama!" as the mother of Shalam hurried from the Home, their cries a long memory of pity in her heart.

Little Thail, a colored child, but the brightest of Shalam's children, was taken by Booker Washington. A private home was found for a small Chinese lad. Others, large enough to assist with the work of the colony, remained there until 1902, when they went out for themselves into a strange world — stunned, lonely, remembering no other home.

The Children's Land was dark except for a few rooms in the Home where Mr. and Mrs. Howland lived with five adolescents from whom they were loathe to part. On November 30, 1907, the last small group of Faithists stood sobbing while Andrew Howland locked the door of the Children's Home, and turned to go out into the world, never again to visit the scene of the colony's failure. Mr. and Mrs. Howland believed that evil spirits had controlled the selection of the site of Shalam.

That a curse rested upon the land many Mexicans who had labored there believed; and so warned their sons who, even under later tenures, refused employment when employment was scarce. Possibly there was a certain logic behind the legendary malediction upon the Children's Land, or what was left of it after floods had ripped much acreage from its river banks. It has passed through the hands of some 135 owners, partial owners, transfers entailing investments, most of them wholly lost. Three incorporated farm and ranch

companies and many individual owners have been broken under operation of these lands. One large mortgage investment company failed.

Elephant Butte reservoir, which supplies the Mesilla Valley with irrigation water, was then more than 30 years in the future. In fact, it was not until about 1943, 36 years after Andrew Howland had locked his premises in defeat, that the colony lands, white with cotton yields, began to pay. Evil spirits fled, and the curse lifted with security of water, and the swashbucklery of tractors, bulldozers, and modern machinery. Recent owners and tenants have netted annual profits, aggregating as high as six figures.

The Fraturnum, ravaged by fire, rain, and time, is partially occupied by tenants and Mexican *braceros* or wetbacks. The Children's Home still stands, a brave edifice, utilized for storage. The old well, cleaned out and equipped with an electric pump, is doing duty as a supplementary plant, pumping water into irrigation ditches.

In 1908, seven years after Andrew Howland had brought suit to quiet title, asking that the deed of trust be voided and restored to him, he sold the property for $60,000 — an investment loss of well up to $400,000. These lands as developed today, it is estimated, would sell for more than a million dollars.

The Howland family lived in California for some time, a possible two years, when they returned to make permanent home at 1019 East Rio Grande Street, El Paso. About this time Andrew Howland fell heir to a modest living from Howland securities held in trust by Hetty Howland Green Robinson, to whom he was double first cousin. He died in El Paso in 1917 aged 83 years, greatly respected for his integrity of character, and his many philanthropies. His widow read the ritual of *Oahspe* at his grave — far from the Howland cemetery which he owned in New Bedford, Massachusetts; and far from the family plots filled with the crested monuments of many distinguished Quakers.

Mrs. Howland was a remarkable woman to have held the love and fidelity of two such exceptional men as the founders of Shalam. She was a daughter of New York traditions, born

Frances Van de Water, great-granddaughter of William Bell and Sussana Grinnell, descended from the Duchy of Burgoyne and Lords of Piedmont and La Grange-Gourmond. Her American ancestor, Peter Grinnell, a French Huguenot, was admitted an inhabitant of Newport, Rhode Island, in 1638. Another genealogical line leads to Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Miss Van de Water married in early youth one Sweet, from whom she was divorced. A second marriage to John B. Newbrough was consumated September 28, 1887, at Shalam, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Order of Faithists. H. S. Tanner was secretary to the ceremony, A. M. Howland, Nellie Patterson, Walter Sigler Shepherd, and James Gill, witnesses.

Mrs. Frances Newbrough Howland was a woman of gentle breeding, rare intelligence, and a natural leader. She was generally credited with being the power behind Dr. Newbrough in affairs outside the occult; and could lead Andrew Howland into new enthusiasms for Shalam.

She was a small person with tiny hands and feet that were untiring in the service of the little folk who called her "Mama." With the assistance of one or two Mexican servants, the children were bathed daily, clothed, fed, given naps, supervised at play, and tucked in at night. There was also the sewing and mending and running of the household. When illness came, the mother of Shalam had a 24 hour vigil. Some few loyal Faithists assisted.

But withal, she made friends in the community, was entertained and in turn entertained the ladies of Las Cruces, and several lasting friendships were formed. Children of her friends enjoyed picnics and week-end visits at Shalam.

Sometimes depressed, Mrs. Howland never regretted the effort of Shalam, although mistakes that cost dearly were made. To the last she was faithful to the revelation of *Oahspe*. Mr. Howland, whom she had married that the colony might go on, she loved dearly, claiming him to have been the finest man she had ever known. Her daughter, Miss Newbrough, often expressed this same sentiment. After his death she claimed to be in constant spirit communication with him; that he guided her in all business transactions.

Mrs. Howland passed to the spirit world in 1922, surrounded by her own daughter, and two of the colony's daughters who knew no other mother.

But what of "the babes the world would not have?" — the children of Shalam galloping the fields in the close camaraderie of youth; or huddling together at night, frightened by the rappings of spirits in the dark?

Scattered over the western states, if living; unknown to each other; many nearing their three score years and ten — who is there who can say if the instincts and urges of these men and women follow their blood inheritance; or, if the quality of their ego ideal had been guided and incited by the early environment of Shalam? Not one can say. The time was too short for study, and possibly the experience of the children too unbalanced for accurate record.

Many, frustrated over their origin, have searched with tragic bitterness for clues to their parentage, for it is inherent in a man that he ferret out his own blood, be it good or bad. When the foundlings were gathered for the Children's Colony, a curtain was dropped behind their identities. No records of birth or names were kept, and the tongues of the Faithists were silent, fostering environment against heredity. Very scanty information ever leaked from behind the curtain of adoptions. Census bureaus have furnished little more than the seemingly fantastic names given the children upon their advent to Shalam — names of gods and goddesses and other great ones of Oahspean record: Pathocides, Thouri, Hayah, Thale, Ninya, Ha'jah, Havalro, Hiayata, Des, Fiatisi, Vohnu, Ashtaroth, Whaga — and there were others of Oahspian quickening.

Several of these orphans, now graying, are more bitter because of lost identity than of any other injustices they received as foundlings. A successful business man of the Los Angeles area has continued his quest over thirty years. He was a chubby babe of three years when taken from Shalam, and given to a Denver orphanage for adoption. He provided for a good foster mother for many years — until her death — but will not marry, considering himself a bastard.

Pathocides, who believed his rightful name to be Patrick

Malloy, ran away from the Buckner Orphanage in Dallas where he had been placed upon the dissolution of Shalam. He wanted to find Shalam and "Mama." He died in California, aged, dissipated, in direful poverty, to the last declaring Shalam to have been the loveliest of all places. One daughter of Shalam came from New Orleans; another from Kansas City. Both have raised fine sons who have served their country well. Fiatisi, called "Fifi," was a French child from New Orleans, with surname of Germain, a child of sweet disposition. She married unfortunately. When alone in Las Cruces, dying of pneumonia, her two babies beside her on the bed, she sent a note to the writer asking that "Mama" be called. Mrs. Howland came at once from El Paso, removed her to comfortable rooms, gave her medical care, and burial. Homes for her children were found. Thouri, born in Las Cruces, was given to Mr. and Mrs. Howland when a few days old, and legally adopted by them. When he was older his parents wished to recover him, but this the Howlands refused. He ran away and joined his family, and thereby lost his inheritance as a legal heir, but for many years kept in friendly touch with them. Little Astraf, a Mexican baby, was accidentally burned to death. Hiatisi, a lovely mother and fine woman, lives in Arizona. There were others. A little more than a year ago rosary services were said for a kindly old Mexican, one of the children of Shalam.

In 1917 Andrew M. Howland, a patriarchal gentleman of eighty years sat at table in his El Paso home, to take his one meal a day, his parrot Joe on his shoulder, the dog Frappi at his knee. Two daughters of Shalam served him. "Do you think my life has been a failure?" he would question. "No. No, no, Papa!" they would persuade him. "You gave us all you had." Then he would lift his knife and fork to eat and Joe would cackle, "All right, Papa! All right!" — in anticipation of his bite; and Frappi would bark and circle the table, drawing attention from Joe. It was family routine, Mrs. Howland would assure the guests.

Shalam, born too soon, failed like many another communal experiment because of the defects of human character — character not ready for a brotherhood of community

interests; because of the cost of reclaiming the desert to agriculture; to lack of markets; and unsound judgment. And for other reasons: disparities of culture, barriers of education, social amenities between the leaders of Shalam and the itinerant Faithists of little faith with whom they could have but little in common.

To surface thinkers the promotion of the Children's Land was a ludricous failure, but to those of understanding it was filled with the color and beauty of vicarious sacrifice found in few, if any, other communal ventures. Shalam was a colossal experiment and a heroic defeat. But was Shalam truly a communal colony? It seemed ordered through the leaders; a venture of leaders.

Soon after the abandonment of Shalam Miss Justine Newbrough, daughter of John B. Newbrough and Frances V. Newbrough, had her father's body removed from the Faithist Cemetery at Shalam to the Masonic Cemetery in Las Cruces. There it lay unmarked until November 8, 1952, when five Faithists drove into Las Cruces early one morning, aroused the writer, and asked her to identify Dr. Newbrough's grave.

From a pickup in which they had traveled several hundred miles, they unloaded a granite monument, and with reverence set it over the grave of the inspired author of *Oahspe*. These dedicated Faithists were Ray Schlipmann, Grover W. Neifer, and Mark Whetteplace of Montrose, Colorado, where a small Faithist colony is in growth; E. H. Drigman of Kimball, Nebraska, and W. W. Crosby, center of Faithist development at Prescott, Arizona.

Contrary to general inference, Oahspian disciples and converts have been increasing in numbers around the world. Small scattered groups carry on, aiming for ultimate unity. A few German Faithists have reportedly organized in Oregon. A venture was made in Utah, but removed to Montrose, Colorado. Cadiz, Ohio, where Spanish translations of Kosmon publications have been part of a communal project, may or may not be existent. Some converts to Oahspian philosophy are reported in Shimizu, Japan. A "Kosmon Calendar Reform for the World" reaches us from Williamsport, Pennsylvania. There is "The Challenge of Oahspe," an appreciation

from South Africa; the Kosmon Community, Reigate, Surrey, England, based on communications from the Angelic Worlds, entitled Oahspe, which was first on sale in England in 1891 by publishers of spiritualistic literature. A small branch group is affiliated with the Confraternity of Faithists and the Kosmon Church, headquarters of which is located at Belham, London, S.W. 17. London had about 150 members two years ago. From Melbourne, Australia, the precepts of *Oahspe* were first put on the air. Much literature is published by Faithist organizations well around the world: magazines, pamphlets, circular letters, and books of Oahspian excerpts.

The first edition of *Oahspe* was published in New York in 1882; a second was in process of printing in Boston in 1891 at the time of Dr. Newbrough's death. Another edition, published by the Oahspian Publishing Association, was copyrighted by Miss Justine Newbrough in Boston and London in 1910. It is stated the last edition is printed from plates which Mr. Wing Anderson, publisher of Los Angeles, purchased from Miss Newbrough in 1935. In 1951 plates and publishing rights were given by Mr. Anderson to the Essenes of Kosmon, a Faithist brotherhood. It is claimed more copies have been sold in the last two decades than in the past 60 years of the life of this modern bible.

Occasional Faithists visit the writer: a young couple from London on their honeymoon to the site of Shalam, to carry back to English Faithists information and pictures; a farm laborer with several markers in the Oahspian Book of Prophecy; a few poor and afflicted would seek the Doctor's grave; a southern gentleman, soft hands screening *Oahspe*, would learn of the status of Shalam's lands, and the possibility of a future colony on that same site; several doctors, interested to know of the children; an anthropologist, who left with empty files, regretting to find the life of the colony too short to permit of survey; and there were students, worldly wise and humble, who are convinced this bible inspired for a modern world covers all questions of religion, science, history, government, economics, health, and prophecy. An austere-looking disciple, visiting the ruins, looked long at the

land, gave one searching look at the mountains and river, then raised an arm to the sky and throated huskily: "We shall go on in faith; and we shall return in faith, a host to build a second Children's Land, to the glory of Jehovih and to the author of Oahspe." He has not returned.

A short time before the death of the Mother of Shalam she visited the home of the writer in Las Cruces. The two friends spent hours in reading and discussing *Oahspe* — its origin and its author. She spoke with conviction of the fulfillment of Oahspian prophecy: "when the name of Jehovih would be carried from the east to the west coast of Guatama (America), where the land comes to the water's edge; where there would be held a meeting of the nations to avert war through cooperative organization." She was convinced "the place where the land comes to the water's edge" was California. One's mind prompts — could this be the initial meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco; the first unit of world peace through conference?

During this visit there was the Ouija Board and a few spirit rappings at night, and a flash of the spirit of Mr. Howland at dawn — his favorite hour before the world awoke to confusion.

Not well, Mrs. Howland lay on the couch daily recalling the significance of those early years of Shalam. She requested that notes be taken on her recital, that the story of the colony be told in truth — so much had been written that was false and unkind. She believed the history of the experiment in communal childlife and the agrarian effort in a new land should be preserved. She gave the writer a copy of the 1910 edition of Oahspe, letters, and a few photographs.

Much of the story of Shalam as here reviewed has been in the possession of the writer for 35 years, but has been held that those nearer to the family might more appropriately publish the history of the Children's Land as they had lived it. Information on the present growth of the Faithist movement and current sales of Oahspe is difficult to estimate. Groups of converts are scattered pretty well around the world, and have little or no knowledge of each other.

The rich acres of Shalam, now secure under one of the

largest reclamation projects in the United States, have passed into cotton speculation and stock feeding. The walls of the fallen Studio are rebuilt into laborer's quarters; the Home once dedicated to little children is filled with cotton pickers in season; within the charred walls of the Fraturnum, where Dr. Newbrough preached in robes of the Orient and strange star-browed portraits hung, white-faced cattle feed; and Faithists under different skies dream of a second gathering at the place that was called Shalam.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN IN NEW MEXICO 1854-1891

By VICTOR WESTPHALL

(concluded)

Within a few years of the passage of the Homestead Law, it was evident that its application to the arid lands of the West was not practical. A quarter-section of land where rainfall was plentiful was valuable to its owner, but the same area west of the one hundredth meridian was usually of value for growing crops only if irrigation was applied.

It was to cope with this situation that the Desert Land Act was passed on March 3, 1877. The law had weaknesses that made its application difficult from the start. One of these was the size of the area sold. The passage of the act was attended by much debate on this point. It was pointed out that well-tended irrigated land is exceedingly productive and the question was raised why a person should be allowed 640 acres of such land and only 160 acres under other land laws? The Senator who sponsored the bill illogically replied, "Simply because it is very expensive and difficult to conduct water to the land."

That view was all the more reason for limiting the size of the tract because allowing the larger amount was simply an inducement to acquire it for grazing purposes. This was a purpose of promoters of the law. Existing laws prohibited the sale of public lands except in a few instances. This bill allowed for purchase and the amount allowed was more worthwhile for grazing than the previous maximum of 160 acres. Yet this was an irrigation and not a grazing law.

The value of small tracts intensively cultivated was well recognized in New Mexico where irrigation had been practiced for centuries. For the average settler, large acreage meant a large mortgage and the interest took much of the profit. More land than a farmer could care for himself meant hiring help and payments on the mortgage might preclude this. A good living could be had on 60 to 80 acres and often persons who had more than that sold part of it.

Another weakness was the looseness with which the bill was drawn. A liberal construction would allow title to pass with very little water put on the land. A strict interpretation would require that all the land be irrigated. Except in rare instances it was impossibly expensive to irrigate fully the entire 640 acres. In New Mexico easily irrigated land had long been privately owned and what was left called for more cash to reclaim than the average person could afford.

The General Land Office adopted a strict interpretation of the law from the start, although Commissioner Williamson recognized that it would probably defeat its operation and beneficial results. On the other hand, a liberal construction was certain to permit easy evasion of the law and render it a mockery.

The tract allowed was too small for a stock range and too large to irrigate by most persons using only their own resources. It was held that all the land must be irrigated within the required three years for a patent to be legally issued. "This was expecting a miracle second only to the rain-making act of 1873." On the other hand, the area was too small to attract investment capital to develop the large-scale storage of water needed to irrigate the arid regions.

The General Land Office had misgivings about the application of the Desert Land Law in New Mexico. Eight months after it was passed, all entries under the act were suspended and hearings ordered to determine their legality. They were to be most thorough and were to reveal whether any of the land entered would produce an agricultural crop without irrigation, whether any had been previously cultivated by residents or semi-residents, and whether entries had been made by parties other than real applicants. Such development of the facts were to be made as would "fully protect the interests of the United States, prevent the success of fraud and secure the rights of all persons who [had] made entries in good faith under said law."

This order for suspension was revoked within a month at the insistence of Secretary of the Interior Schurz. At the same time, however, specific instructions were issued that

any cases suspected of fraud were to be immediately reported to the General Land Office.

There was justification for these suspicions. The law specified that entries must be in compact form; yet, it was less than a year old when numerous persons desired to take out entries in contiguous subdivisions of 40 acres. The obvious purpose was to control a maximum acreage adjacent to a stream or series of springs. This could be important for irrigation purposes, but even then to irrigate the whole claim would be expensive and difficult to accomplish in three years. Far more important, such control of a source of water gained the owner dominion over large quantities of grazing land in areas back from the water. For example, "Senator Dorsey [owned] all the springs on 160 acres, and this [controlled] the whole 10,000 acres back of it."

The matter of contiguous entries was dealt with by Land Office ruling. Desert land entries could be made on unsurveyed land. Without survey lines as a guide, a great deal of looseness arose as to what constituted *compact form.* Even in surveyed areas entries frequently followed streams in a comparatively narrow strip. It was ruled that entries must be made as nearly as possible in the shape of a legally subdivided section which, of course, was a square. Parts of more than one section might be admitted if they conformed to the proper shape. Merely contiguous small pieces of land, joined end to end, were ruled to be illegal whether on surveyed or unsurveyed land.

But this did not end fraudulent use of the land. Since it was required that only twenty-five cents per acre be paid at the time of entry, and since the entryman had three years to make proof of reclamation and complete the payment, and could relinquish areas and make entries in other names, a way was opened to control large bodies of land along streams at what amounted to a nominal rental. In this way thousands of acres of land in New Mexico were held as a lease for three years by the payment of twenty-five cents an acre. Officials there regarded desert land entries as a fruitful source of a great deal of "crookedness."

Through 1891 there were 415,203 acres in original entries

and 66,725 acres in final certificates. Through 1894 (when entries made in 1891 would normally be completed) acres in final certificates had more than doubled to 139,622. Only about 33 per cent of entries made by 1891 were proved up by the end of 1894. Since two-thirds of the entries were never completed by conducting water upon the land, it is evident that it was used for other than irrigating purposes. This could only be for grazing on 57 per cent of it, that being the percentage of entries made in townships where crops could not be grown without irrigation and where there was no irrigation. Also, 75 per cent of entries made through 1891 were made in townships where there was no irrigating in any part of the township at that time. Furthermore, by 1891 only about 47,000 acres had been added to the total under cultivation by irrigation during the fifteen years the law was in force, as opposed to 415,203 acres in original entries. There were nearly nine times as many acres in original entries as were added to the irrigated total. By 1894 there were nearly three times as many acres in final certificates as were added to the total brought under cultivation by irrigation through 1891.

All the land brought under irrigation was not public domain. Conservatively, 40 per cent was by private irrigation companies operating on land purchased from grants and individuals. So almost fifteen times as much land was entered, and nearly five times as much acquired by certificates, as public domain brought under irrigation while the law was in effect.

Registrars were not very discerning in the entries they allowed to be filed. A number of consecutive entries in the same township on the same day was rather common. These groupings are bound to stand out when they are surrounded by completely random entries.

Although the Desert Land Law was badly misused, the fifteen years the original law was in existence was practically concurrent with a mushroom growth of the cattle industry. The intention of a large element in this industry was to make a quick return on an investment and be prepared to get out — something like hitting the peak in the stock market and

then unloading. This segment of the industry stopped at nothing to acquire land for their operations; however, many of the cattlemen themselves deprecated these tactics.

Nationally there was a marked decrease in desert land entries by 1887. The cattle industry reached its maximum development by the middle eighties and the demand for land fell off. Profits of the industry showed a sharp decrease beginning with 1885 because of overstocking and the severe winters. In New Mexico the decrease in desert land entries did not come until 1891 when original entries dropped to 19,548 acres from the figure of 55,534 in 1890. Likewise the depressed period in the cattle industry came to New Mexico in the early 1890's. The winter of 1886-1887 was unusually severe on the northern plains and cattle losses in some herds were as high as eighty per cent. The winters were milder in New Mexico and losses not heavy; consequently, the cattle depression came later here than in the North, and when it came, was caused by drouths, overstocking, and low prices.

The decline of the cattle industry brought a new epoch to irrigation. "In 1882, there were no irrigation works built on sound engineering principles, but by 1888, investors were turning from ranching to the rapidly developing irrigation companies."

In New Mexico there were 19 irrigation companies incorporated in 1888; 32 in 1889; 23 in 1890; and 14 in 1891 — a total of 88. Conservatively estimated 40 per cent of the land brought under irrigation during the decade of the 1890's was by these companies. Purchases under the Desert Land Act were minor because they needed land in large quantities for economical development of irrigation facilities. Land in excess of amounts allowed by desert land entry was acquired from individuals and land grants. The Springer Land Association purchased 130,000 acres from the Maxwell Land Grant Company. Other areas of successful development were along the Rios Pecos, Grande and San Juan and in the Mimbres Valley. Some companies chose areas that were impractical for irrigation development and failed. Two of these were in Bernalillo County; one in Tijeras Canyon and the other along the Rio Puerco.

It was evident that a land law which gave no consideration to the problem of water needed substantial revision. Congress took a half-hearted step in that direction in 1888 when it passed an act providing for the withdrawal of irrigable land from entry. By this act, 39 reservoir sites were selected in New Mexico totalling 40,170.20 acres.

These withdrawals (repealed in 1890) were very unpopular with the people of New Mexico, who felt that the Territory was as much entitled to national aid for irrigation purposes as other sections were entitled to aid for rivers and harbors. It was acknowledged that the withdrawals covered potentially irrigable lands, but it was the feeling that nothing would come of this action and the immediate result would be to keep settlers from filing entries and making developments on their own initiative.

Starting in 1877, there had been a determined movement to repeal the entire desert land policy. This movement was not successful and a new era in irrigation started in 1891 with the problems of operation still unsolved.

Warnings appeared by 1879 that title to much public land was being acquired in a manner and under conditions not contemplated by law largely because the land laws were not being adapted to the arid West. Large-scale prosecution of fraudulent practices began with the advent of the Democratic administration in 1885.

The decade of the 1880's in New Mexico saw the expansion of railroads and a boom in land entries. By December 7, 1878, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad reached the northern boundary of New Mexico and a subsidiary, the New Mexico and Southern Pacific, started to build south from there. Progress was slow. It was not until April 5, 1880, after a burst of activity, that the line reached Albuquerque.

There followed immediately an unprecedented increase in land entries. The largest number of original homestead entries previous to 1880 was in 1870 when there were 96. In 1880 there were 181 entries. In 1876 there were 35 final homestead certificates, the largest number in any year previous to 1880, and in 1880 there were 98. The high for donation notifi-

cations prior to 1880 was in 1877 when there were 38. In 1880 there were 172. The increase was even greater in the case of donation certificates. The largest number previous to 1880 was in 1873 when there were 27; in 1880 there were 162.

This increase was permanent and steady as is shown by a comparison of the entries in the dozen years following 1880 with the same number previous to 1880:

Kind of entry	Inclusive years prior to 1880			Inclusive equivalent number of years after 1880		
	Years	Entries	Acres	Years	Entries	Acres
Orig. Homestead	1868–79	441	63,515	1880–91	6,343	877,313
Final Homestead	1873–79	88	12,951	1880–86	1,538	199,372
Orig. Timb. Cul.	1875–79	38	5,422	1880–84	385	52,240
Donation Notif.	1858–79 (22 yrs.)	168	26,101	1880–82 (3 yrs.)	297	47,197
Donation Cert.	1870–79 (10 yrs.)	64	8,840	1880–84 (5 yrs.)	274	43,149
Pre-emp. Decla.	1861–79 (19 yrs.)	616		1880–91 (12 yrs.)	7,041	
Mineral Appl.	1869–79	62		1880–89	546	
Orig. Desert L.	1877–79	45	16,668	1880–82	122	30,484
Mineral Sales	1870–79	8	129	1880–88	377	6,438
Cash Sales	1868–79	352	47,142	1880–91	3,398	437,231

Land for grazing purposes was needed in ever increasing quantities — far more than could legally be acquired under the land laws.[1] Competition for grazing rights on the public domain was becoming so keen that it was becoming ever more desirable to acquire title to land — especially land that controlled water. The consequence was an epidemic of fraudulent manipulation of the land laws. Prior to this decade there had been only four indictments for land fraud in the Territory. None of these had resulted in a conviction.

By 1881, the incidence of fraud was such that Elias Brevoort, Receiver in the land office at Santa Fe, on December 5, informed Commissioner N. C. McFarland, in a letter of far-reaching consequence, "That I have quite recently become impressed with the belief there has been for some

1. It has already been shown tht much of the land entered under the land laws was illegally acquired in the interest of stock graziers.

months past a system of frauds perpetrated in making entries of lands." He named, as principal suspected parties, José de Sena, former register at Santa Fe; Antonio Ortiz y Salazar, former probate judge of Santa Fe County; John Gwyn and Thomas Gwyn of Santa Fe, the latter a former register; Miguel Salazar, Las Vegas attorney; Alexander Grzelachowski, better known as "Polaco"; Celso Baca of San Miguel County; and Miguel Martin, Leandro Urtadio, José Trejora, Luis F. Garcia, Hilario Montana, Ignacio Valdez, Tarivio Martin, Frank Unruh, and B. F. Houx, all residents in the vicinity of Cimarron in Colfax County. There were also, he believed, many others.

The practice was to have witnesses furnish false affidavits, dating back the time of settlement to suit the case, and the entrant then acquired the land without ever having seen it. Afterwards the principal manipulators and advisors purchased it for a mere nominal sum. Another practice was for stock-raisers to have their laborers make false entries for their employers' benefit.

Brevoort suggested that a special agent of the Interior Department be sent to the Territory at once to investigate. He should be "a man firm and resolute, and beyond the reach of bribery, who should be paid *double* or *treble* the usual salary of special agents, with all expenses paid, for the reason that the risk of life [was] great, not only to him, but to persons giving information of the frauds in question. . . ."

Brevoort left office on December 8, 1881, three days after his communication with the Commissioner. It is probable that he had no axe to grind on the troubled wheel of Territorial politics since his name drops completely from the resulting investigations, charges, and counter-charges.

As a direct result of Brevoort's charges, on August 5, 1882, Robert S. Graham, a clerk in the General Land Office, was appointed for a period of one month to investigate fraud in New Mexico. This was later extended for an additional thirty days. He found that conditions warranted a much more extensive scrutiny than originally contemplated. By the end of 1884, at least seven special agents of the General Land Office had conducted investigations in the Territory. These

were Richard J. Hinton, H. H. Eddy, John M. Dunn, Frank D. Hobbs, John G. Evans, A. R. Greene, and Charles A. Walker.

With the evidence unearthed by these agents, Secretary of the Interior Teller and Commissioner McFarland set in motion the wheels of justice through indictments for fraud.

Through 1891 there were 3,633 criminal cases in the five Federal District Courts in New Mexico. Of these 641 involved land fraud; however, there were only four such cases prior to 1883. Perjury accounted for the most cases with a total of 442. Unlawful inclosures followed with 78 cases, and violation of timber laws accounted for 64. Other categories were subornation of perjury, conspiracy, official misconduct, abstraction of records, bribery, forgery, false certificate and unlawful obtaining of land.

There were only 15 cases with a jury verdict of guilty, but this does not tell the entire story. In 82 cases the defendant was not found by a United States Marshal. These Marshals repeatedly wrote on subpoenas that after a diligent search they were unable to find the defendant and did not believe the person existed. This was probably true because one Grand Jury foreman pointed out that many entries were made with fictitious names. Some of these defendants may have skipped the country but in either instance they were presumably guilty. Also, in 209 dismissed cases, all or part of the records are missing from the transcript. Many dismissed cases were not prosecuted by the U. S. Attorney because records were lost or stolen from the files. This was a serious difficulty then because all affidavits, etc., were in long hand with a single copy and, if missing, were hard to duplicate. Without the missing transcripts, it is impossible to say how many of these cases were not prosecuted because the record had already been stolen at the time for prosecution. The fact that the records were lost or stolen is a strong presumption of guilt in all these cases. Then too, in 28 cases the verdict is in neither the docket nor transcript and here also there is a possibility of guilt.

The Democrats came into power in 1885, and with Com-

missioner Wm. A. J. Sparks leading the way, intensified the prosecution. In 1886 there were 351 cases; far more than in any previous or subsequent year. The Republicans, nevertheless, under Secretary of the Interior Teller and Commissioner McFarland had not only pressed charges in numerous indictments, but also conducted the investigations that were used as the basis for Democratic prosecutions. In Washington, Commissioner Sparks gave his Republican predecessors due credit for collecting information on land fraud; but, in New Mexico this courtesy was sorely lacking.

There was loud lamenting in Democratic Washington that convictions were almost impossible to secure in New Mexico. The sparseness of English-speaking people bore the brunt of the blame. Native New Mexicans were accused of being unreliable witnesses who would swear to anything, and native juries were charged with never returning a verdict of guilty regardless of the evidence. Sympathy was expressed for these people, however, because they were unaware of the law and could be deceived into signing fraudulent papers in the interest of others. Natives with honest intentions were frequently taken advantage of, it was pointed out, by unscrupulous manipulators who gave them false descriptions of the land they lived on prior to the time they filed this description in the land office. These descriptions were for worthless land. The settler filed the spurious description thinking it was for the land he had settled upon. His home was then filed upon by a person representing the party who supplied the false description and the settler was deprived of his valuable land in exchange for the worthless acreage he had filed upon. If he complained he was told that he had committed perjury by entering land he had never lived upon and that if he didn't keep quiet he would be arrested and prosecuted.

It is true that the native inhabitants were used by clever schemers who took advantage of their ignorance of laws and customs they were not acquainted with. It is also true that native juries returned few verdicts of guilty, but this must be explained. Juries then had to be selected largely from native inhabitants because they composed the bulk of the popula-

tion. There were two reasons why a verdict of guilty was seldom returned: fear of reprisal, and sympathy for anyone accused of a crime.

Then too, it was well known that a majority of the accused were innocent as to interest. They did not understand the English language, were ignorant of the land laws, were confiding, and were "mere tools in the hands of designing men as well as the betrayed of official corruption."

Far more important though, is that many cases with damaging possibilities never got to the jury. There is not a shred of evidence indicating that Washington officials were aware of the numerous times that U. S. Marshals were unable to find defendants, or of the really amazing number of records that were lost or stolen from the files. To blame juries for these conditions is unfair. The missing records had to be the work of persons who had access to the files; largely the attorneys in the cases. The U. S. Attorneys themselves are not blameless in the matter.

Persons and corporations against whom indictments were returned represented all classes in the Territory: Charles Ilfeld, Max Frost, Pedro Sanchez, Dubuque Cattle Company, Wm. H. McBroom, Luciano Baca, Red River Cattle Company, Lake Cattle Company, Palo Blanco Cattle Company, Prairie Cattle Company, Portsmouth Cattle Company, Stephen W. Dorsey, Miguel Martin, Cimarron Cattle Company, Wm. F. Purmont, George H. Purmont, Theo. Maxwell, Charles Blanchard, and M. A. Upson, to name only a few.

But one person was singled out over all the others; Max Frost, Register of the Land Office at Santa Fe. He came to New Mexico as a Sergeant in charge of the military telegraph line built into Santa Fe. During the years 1881-1883 he was Adjutant General of New Mexico from which he got his title of "Colonel." By 1884 he was prominent in politics and once unwisely boasted to Inspector John G. Evans that he had great influence with the grand jurors of his county and would have persons indicted who made an affidavit against him. He was likewise Secretary of the San Mateo Cattle Company, interested in a mining company, and connected with four newspapers. He was also an incorporator, in 1883, of the

San Mateo Cattle Company along with Amado Chaves and Simon Vivo. In 1884 he joined with H. M. Atkinson and W. F. McBroom, and three gentlemen from Kentucky, in forming the New Mexico and Kentucky Land and Stock Company.

As a result of charges preferred by Francis Downs, a Santa Fe attorney, on October 30, 1883, and by R. W. Webb on January 8, 1884, Frost's conduct in office was thoroughly investigated by Inspector Frank D. Hobbs, and he was permitted to resign in March, 1885.

It is evident that the numerous investigations of land fraud in the Territory were a deterrent to this type of activity. In 1884, the first year that the numbers of reported fraud cases were published by the General Land Office, New Mexico led the nation with 827 cases followed by California with 574. Late that year the pressure of investigation reached a climax when Max Frost was put on the carpet by the Interior Department. The following year New Mexico dropped to eleventh place with only 63 cases. During subsequent years the entries reached their average of fifth place.

On July 14, 1886, an indictment was returned against Max Frost by the Grand Jury on a charge of official misconduct. On July 30, 1886, an additional fourteen charges were filed wherein Frost was either named as sole defendant or was named with others on conspiracy charges. In the examination into the complete record of the case, it appears that the first case filed was the key case of the United States Attorney, who was Thomas Smith. This case came on for trial first on February 24, 1887, and the jury verdict was guilty. Edward Miller was the foreman of the jury, and the jury verdict assessed a penalty against Frost of imprisonment for one year and a fine of $5,000.00. Immediately following this, Frost's attorneys moved for a new trial which was finally granted on a technicality. The new trial, which was held on August 17, 1888, and proceeded through an interpreter, resulted in a jury verdict of not guilty.

Max Frost was extremely fortunate in having all the charges against him disposed of in one way or another. The records in the case show that it was a real battle all the way.

Official files of some cases were missing from the office of the Clerk which undoubtedly helped.

Another matter of concern to the government was the unlawful inclosure of the public domain. As early as 1879 this was an issue with the Public Lands Commission. Inquiries revealed that there was then very little fencing in New Mexico, but that in most parts of the Territory cattle could safely be confined during the winter months when they were inclined to drift and break wire fences. Ranchers did not desire to fence the range because it was not crowded and there seemed to be plenty of room for all.

Early in the next decade this situation was changed. Large cattle corporations were being formed and land entries were being taken out in ever increasing numbers. The fight was now on to control water and range facilities.

The first complaint against large-scale fencing in the Territory was in 1883. On February 24 of that year, some two dozen petitioners complained of the unlawful inclosure of large tracts of land in Colfax and Mora Counties. Named in the petition were the Cimarron and Renello cattle companies.

On March 15 of the same year, more than 50 persons complained of fencing along the Ute Creek and other parts of the country by large stock companies and others. The chief offender in this case was the Dubuque Cattle Company. The fenced area was some of the best grazing land in the Territory. The only pretense of ownership to any of this land was by virtue of certain fradulent homestead claims.

It has been said that barbed wire fencing was economically a sound practice in New Mexico because of the comparatively large amount of land required to be inclosed to feed a given number of cattle. Statistics indicate otherwise. Reports of the General Land Office from 1885 through 1888 show New Mexico, with 3,438,830 acres reported as being acted upon or awaiting investigation, ranked third in the nation behind only Colorado and Kansas. New Mexico was well ahead of Nebraska, Montana, Utah, Wyoming, California, Nevada, Oregon, Idaho, and Dakota.

There were 78 indictments in the Territory for unlawful

inclosures. Of these, 6 were returned with a verdict of not guilty and 63 were dismissed without trial. In only one case was there a verdict of guilty, but in 6 cases the defendant was not found by the U. S. Marshal who attempted to serve a subpoena. In one other dismissed case the records are missing from the transcript in the office of the District Court Clerk which may have been the reason for dismissal. In another case the verdict is in neither the docket nor the transcript record of court cases.

In 1884 the General Land Office mailed a letter of inquiry to registers and receivers requesting information on land fraud in general as well as the effect of inclosures in their respective districts. The matter had attracted wide public attention and had been brought prominently before Congress. In 1885 Congress passed an act making the inclosure of public lands a punishable offense, and a vigorous campaign was started by the General Land Office to stop the practice.

By 1889 acreage inclosed was small, and only a few cases remained to be acted upon in 1890 and 1891.

Summary

While it is true that cattle graziers persistently violated the land laws of the United States, many of them did so knowingly and with the firm conviction that they had a strong moral, if not legal, case in so doing. The Federal land laws were not applicable to most of the arid land in the Territory. The land in New Mexico was suited principally for grazing, which required large amounts of land for successful operation. And yet the laws were designed to limit the amount of the public domain that could be acquired by one person and stipulated that the land must be cultivated by that person.

A water supply was an absolute necessity for the raising of stock. Water was scarce and if the springs and streams were taken up by settlers, the adjacent public domain was useless except in localities where water for stock could be obtained from wells. It was recognized that 10 or 12 head of cattle on 160 acres of land was the general maximum and

that as few as four was more often correct. These would not begin to support a family. Available watering places should have been calculated to serve as the nucleus for a suitable quantity of grazing land adjacent to it. This adjacent land should have been made available for adequate homesteads or sold at graduated prices so that the full potential value of the land would have been realized.

Since the bulk of the land was good only for grazing, it was natural that cattle ranchers sought the widely scattered springs and streams to water their stock. There was logic in their convictions that such water was more valuable for watering a large quantity of stock than for the possible garden patch that might be irrigated by that water. Large-scale storage of water for irrigating purposes did not begin until the late 1880's and irrigation before that was largely confined to areas where water could be diverted from living streams. Marginal irrigation was less valuable to the economy of the Territory than the same water used to support a large grazing area.

The real fight in New Mexico was over water and was as much between the have and have-nots in ranching as between ranching and agrarian interests. The land laws, limiting to an inadequate amount the quantity of land that could legally be acquired, encouraged the struggle over the really valuable land — the land with water. Had there been devised a system of parceling land in accordance with the nature of the country, much of the fraud in land matters would have been averted. Given a sensible system, sensible people would have largely followed it. Given an impossible system, even sensible people rebelled against it and, like a small force that can cause an avalanche, this rebellion grew to unmanageable proportions.

The situation encouraged the strong and the firstcomers. It was impossible to make a living on the amount of land that could legally be acquired under the land laws. There was provocation to break the law to some degree to make a living. Once this step was taken, who was to say how much was enough? Had cattle graziers been permitted to homestead land up to some such amount as the 2,560 acres recommended

by Major James W. Powell in his monumental report on the *Lands of the Arid Regions of the United States*, and had they been required to buy the arid land (even at a nominal price) to obtain a share in the water, the great baronial holdings of cattle interests would not have become a reality. There would have been far less cause to break the law in the first place and persons whose duty it was to police these laws would have had a less disillusioning task in doing so. There were always the greedy and deliberately lawless but the widespread breakdown in morality would not have had a reason to exist and a heartened law enforcement body could surely have been able to cope with the incorrigible element.

If this seems to place too much faith in the innate justice of human nature, there is the realistic consideration that land in the sensible quantity of sixteen times what was allowed would have meant only one-sixteenth the amount of checking for harassed land office officials who could have devoted the time saved to closer supervision of the larger amounts. This might as well have been done because many persons secured larger amounts by one method or another anyway.

It was common for hired hands to take out land entries for the benefit of their employers. Since the quantity allowed wasn't enough to do these hired hands much good, and since they received some remuneration for their service, there was reason to turn it over to their employers. Had they been able to secure enough land to make a living, many would have been reluctant to let it go. Indeed, large ranchers would have had more difficulty finding help with which to make such a bargain in the first place. There would have been a larger number of smaller ranches with consequent benefit to the economy of the Territory and a more rational serving of human justice. As it was, a few acquired early most of the water, and without that commodity, it was pointless for others to acquire land.

Notes and Documents

JOHN M. CHIVINGTON, 1860

John Milton Chivington's memoirs were written in 1884, some twenty-two years after the events had transpired. Undoubtedly the author's memory was often faulty concerning certain details and events. In editing the manuscript, care has been taken to point out, by means of footnotes, where Chivington is in error, either because of poor memory or lack of accurate information on his part. Only minor changes have been made in the manuscript itself, and these were confined to grammar and spelling where clarity was necessary. Though it has many obvious shortcomings, this paper is a valuable primary source for the study of early Colorado and the role played by the Colorado Volunteers in saving New Mexico for the Union.

The original typewritten manuscript is housed in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. It is reproduced here through the courtesy of Dr. George P. Hammond, Director of the Bancroft Library.

Arkansas A. and M. College MARVIN HARDWICK HALL

THE FIRST COLORADO REGIMENT

By Col. J. M. Chivington

Denver, Colo., October 18, 1884

As near as I can get it there was no town where I was born. It was in Warren Co. Ohio, Jany. 27th, 1821. I remained in Ohio until June 1848, then I went to Quincy, Ill. where I entered the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and was transferred to the Missouri Conference, remained until the Fall of 1856 and went to Omaha, Neb. While I was in the Missouri Conference I was Missionary to the Wyandotte Indians. Wyandotte was then Indian territory. I remained in connection with the Kansas-Nebraska Conference until I came to Colorado as presiding Elder of the Rocky Mountain District. Arrived in Denver May 8th, 1860. Made my headquarters at Denver and have lived here all the time while in Colorado.

There was a movement on foot to organize a State Government, when I came here, a-la-California, without any act of the Federal

JOHN M. CHIVINGTON, 1860

(Courtesy Colorado State Historical Society)

Government. They had a kind of double government here both under the authority of Kansas. They called it the territory of Jefferson, with a provisional Governor at the head of it, Governor Steele.[1] [James] W. Denver was Governor of Kansas at the time, and this town took its name from that fact. I don't know who proposed the name, I think it was Capt. [Richard] Sopris. A part of the people called the territory Arapahoe County, Kansas. During the winter of 1860 and 1861 it was organized into the present territory of Colorado.

The Methodist Episcopal was the first mission here of any church in 1859. They did not build a church until 1860. That was the first society organized here and the first Sunday School. Then in 1860 both the Presbyterian and the Protestant Episcopal, I don't know which takes the precedence, sent a minister here. The Rev. J. H. Kehler was the first Protestant Episcopal Minister here. [He was] subsequently chaplain of the 1st. Regiment. He was from Virginia, I think from Charleston, Va. He told me he was the Episcopal Minister there during the time John Brown was tried and executed. The Rev. Mr. Day was the first Presbyterian Minister here. They both came in 1860. O. J. Gilrock taught the first school here; subsequently Miss Sopris assisted him. I think that was no earlier than 1860.

I assisted in raising the 1st. Regiment. Perhaps it is well to say that Governor [William] Gilpin, without authority from the War Department, raised the 1st. Regt. himself. The singular thing in connection with that is that he did not have a dollar of money or a single authority to raise. He did it from the necessity of our surroundings. It was thought to be a wild project when he did it, but it proved to be the salvation of this country from the hands of the rebels. He issued what we called at that time Gilpin Drafts directly on the Secretary of the Treasury of the U. S. and we made the people take them. They were all paid. After we had the first battle everything was recognized as regular and they were all paid.[2]

John P. Slough was made Captain of Company A and Samuel F. Tappan of Company B. Those were the first two companies we proposed to raise. We did not propose to raise a regiment at that time. Subsequently, when he made up his mind to raise a regiment, Slough was made Colonel, S. F. Tappan was made Lieutenant Colonel and I was made Major because I suppose I was better acquainted in the territory than any man in it at that time. I had been all over it, organized churches, held religious services, appointed ministers and superintended the arrangement of Methodist Church affairs. The Regiment was able to muster, as we called it, by authority of the Governor, on the 29th of August 1861. The necessities were fear of the rebels. The population here was very evenly divided when the war broke out, on that question;

1. Robert W. Steele was elected governor in October, 1859. On June 6, 1861, he issued a proclamation which formally dissolved the "territory of Jefferson."

2. At first the Federal Treasury refused to honor these "Gilpin Drafts," and the governor was called to Washington to explain his conduct in this matter.

and the rebels had the money. The wealth of the country—what there was of wealth here at that time—was in the hands of the rebels southern men principally. They were the aggressive spirits of the territory. With those Gilpin Drafts the Governor and the military authorities under him bought all the ammunition, percussion caps, lead, old arms and outfit of every description they possibly could purchase in the territory. First to keep them out of the hands of the rebels; secondly to make all the use we could of them for the common defence. We did not force any purchase of the arms but everywhere bought what could be had; but when we needed anything necessary such as clothing or food or equipments for horses or anything of that kind, if they were not willing we made them willing. I remember several instances where men said "I don't want those drafts, they are worth nothing and never will be." We said "Now this is only a question of whether you will take them as an evidence of indebtedness or whether we take the property without any evidence of it. This is a fair deal with us. We need this thing and we must have it." When this state of things came on they took the drafts as evidence of indebtedness, and those who kept them got the full face of them. Those who discounted on them lost money. It amounted to several hundred thousand dollars.[3] Some men here became wealthy by buying them.

After a while there grew up in our regiment a disposition to go to the front. We remained here until Feb. 22nd. 1862, then the feeling was they wanted to go to the fight. They did not like lying in camp. There were as many as two or three companies at a time who were stripped of their arms and put under arrest with their officers for mutiny. Such being the state of affairs we knew that when the warm weather came on they would mutiny and go off. I wrote to Maj. Gen. Hunter in command of the Department at Fort Leavenworth,[4] what the state of affairs was, and he sent my letter back to be sent through military headquarters, and I replied with a second letter as sharp as his rebuke was, that I knew what I was about and I repeated it, and that I would be very much pleased to be dismissed from the service for trying to get my regiment to the front, and thought I would be sustained when it got to the higher authorities, when the facts were known. Whereupon he ordered us to march to the assistance of Gen. Canby,[5] who had encountered the rebels and been whipped by them on the Rio Grande at Ft. Craig. Gen. Sibley had already taken forts Bliss and Fillmore and had the battle of Valverde[6] with Gen. Canby and driven

3. Drafts were issued to the amount of $375,000.

4. Major General David Hunter was commander of the Department of Kansas with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth.

5. Edward R. S. Canby was military commander of the Department of New Mexico. At this time he was still a colonel.

6. Confederate Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley had raised a brigade of mounted infantry in Texas for the purpose of seizing New Mexico from the Federals. Sibley's ultimate aim was to march westward and capture California. Sibley was preceded in southern New Mexico by Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor. It was Baylor

him back into the fort, was coming up the Rio Grande, taking all the towns, making them pay tribute, and living off the country; taken Albuquerque where we had a military post, taken Santa Fe and was preparing to march on Ft. Union which was the principal depot of military supplies for all the forts in that region of the country. We left camp (Weld barracks) in Denver, on Feb. 22nd. 1862. There were ten full companies of infantry. There were also two independent companies that the Governor had authorized to be raised in the southern part of the territory, they had been sent to Ft. Garland, in this State, in the San Luis valley. They had been ordered before we were to the Ft. Union to the assistance of Gen. Canby, knowing the rebels were coming. Capt. Jas. H. Ford was captain of Company A and Theodore H. Dodd of Company B as those companies were afterwards designated.[7] Capt. Ford, by the way was a nephew of Governor Todd of Ohio and was afterwards the Colonel of the 2nd. Cavalry of Colorado and Dodd was Lieut. Col. of it.

During our march to New Mexico we met a messenger at Pueblo from the military authorities at Ft. Union stating that Gen. Canby had had the fight of Valverde and that the rebels were marching up the Rio Grande, and they were apprehensive that the whole territory including the depot of supplies at Ft. Union would fall into their hands, and urging us to make as expeditious a march as we could. At the crossing of the Raton Mountains—or Raton Pass near where Trinidad now is, we met a second messenger who informed us to make all possible haste. Col. [Gabriel R.] Paul, who was senior officer there, Colonel of the N. M. Volunteers, informed us that he had already mined the Post, made preparations for moving the women and children and in the event of the rebels arriving did not intend to resist them but was going to blow the Post up, destroy all provisions and equipments and come and meet us. We crossed over the pass and went into camp at sunset on Red River. I drew up the men in line and asked them how many of them would make a night march. We had already made a desperate day's march over the mountains. When I said "All who will make a forced march for the night to save Fort Union, step two paces to the front"—every man stepped out. Having broken camp at sunrise that morning, we had a bite of supper and started. We marched 64 miles on foot in one consecutive 24 hours. Some gave out and we put them into the baggage wagons. At the Red River we left our baggage and made the wagons ready for the men. The men took spells during the night march in the wagons. We took breakfast the next morning at Maxwell's ranch, where Cimmaron now is, and by heavy forced marches from there on we reached Ft. Union in time to save it from any attack by the rebels,

who reoccupied Fort Bliss and, after the surrender of the Federal garrison, seized Fort Fillmore. At the battle of Valverde (February 21, 1862) Sibley's army drove the Federals from the field to Fort Craig. Since Craig was too strong to be taken by assault, that post was by-passed.

7. Dodd's company arrived in New Mexico in time to take part in the battle of Valverde.

at all. We rested one day and night, provisioned and clothed and fixed up matters with Col. Paul in command of the regular forces at the Post.[8]

We marched to meet the rebels. On the night of the 25th., we went into camp at Bernal Springs, some 40 miles this side of Santa Fe, and the Colonel [Slough] ordered me with all the cavalry we had and 60 men each of Companies A and D of the first Colorado—Company F was mounted for scouting purposes (There were two captains, one was Capt. [George H.] Howland, the other was Capt. [R. S. C.] Lord) to go by night to Santa Fe, march as fast as we could that night, go into camp and remain there during the day and go the next night into Santa Fe where we supposed the rebels were, spike their cannon, do them all the damage we could and escape back.[9] When we got to Kozlowski's Ranch on Pecos River, he informed us that the rebel scouts were in the neighborhood and we went into camp and about midnight I sent out the Lieut. Col. with 30 men[10] and he surprised and captured their scouts without firing a gun—they were playing cards at Pigeon's Ranch[11]—and brought them at daylight into camp. We sent them to Col. Slough's camp with a detail of troops and resumed our march. About one o'clock we met their advanced guard in charge of their 1st. Lieut. and captured the Lieut. with 30 men without firing a gun.[12] We marched about three quarters of a mile after that and saw their column coming. They formed line across the cañon. They had artillery, we had none. They formed battery, we formed line across the cañon (Apache Cañon) just about 2 o'clock, they fired the first cannon at us. We de-

8. The First Regiment reached Fort Union on March 11, 1862. Colonel Slough's commission was senior to Paul's (the post commander), so the Coloradoan assumed command of all the Federal forces in the northern district of New Mexico. Canby and Paul had formulated a tentative plan of uniting their two commands. Until that time Canby ordered Paul to protect Fort Union and to harass the enemy. Differences of opinion soon developed between Slough and Paul over the interpretation of Canby's instructions. Paul asserted that the fort should be heavily guarded and only small detachments sent out to harass the enemy. Slough maintained that Canby's orders could be accomplished better by moving the bulk of the forces to Bernal Springs, 45 miles south. Here the Federals would be between the enemy and Fort Union, and thus the post would be as much protected as if the troops remained there. At Bernal Springs the Union troops could "better operate for the double purpose of harassing the enemy and protecting Santa Fe from depredation." Slough ignored Paul's protests and set out for Bernal Springs on March 22, 1862.

9. It was rumored that the Confederates in Santa Fe numbered only a hundred men with two pieces of artillery. Chivington's detachment consisted of Companies A, D, E, and F, First Regiment Colorado Volunteers (268 men) and several sections of regulars from the First and Third U. S. Cavalry (150 men). His total force numbered 418 men.

10. Lieutenant George Nelson of Company F and twenty men were sent out on this mission.

11. Apparently Chivington is in error here. A contemporary account (Ovando J. Hollister, *A History of the First Colorado Regiment of Volunteers* (Denver, 1863) states that the Confederate pickets were on their way back to their main force and rode into the midst of Nelson and his men before they realized their mistake.

12. This was the advanced guard of a force of Confederates estimated at 250 to 300 under the command of Major Charles L. Pyron. Pyron had set out from Santa Fe upon hearing a report that a small Federal detachment was approaching.

ployed as skirmishers and ascended the sides of the mountains beyond the reach of their guns so that they could not hurt us with their cannon. We reserved our fire until we got nearly as far down the canyon on the mountain side as they were down the road in the canyon, and then we opened fire on them and soon they retreated. I had held the cavalry in reserve under cover of a gorge in the mountain, under Capt. Howland. I had directed him as soon as they showed signs of retreating to charge them, as I did not know anything else to do but to fight. He failed to do it. They went one or two miles down the canyon and took up a strong position at the turn of the mountain under cover of a very heavy gorge and threw up their supports well up the mountain side, taking up a new position. I dismounted Capt. Lord and Howland, sent one of their companies to the right and the other to the left as skirmishers and left Capt. [Samuel H.] Cook with my own Regiment—Company F all the cavalry I had with me. I directed him as I had directed Howland before, at my signal to charge them and if I did not happen to be where I could signal, if he saw them break battery to beat a retreat, to make the charge anyhow. They had gone just over an Arroyo or dry ditch about fifteen feet wide and as many deep and formed their battery and lines just across that. When Capt. [Jacob] Downing and Capt. [Edward W.] Wynkoop reached their flanks they broke battery and the Captain did charge. It was one of those things that I wanted to see when I was a boy, a dashing cavalry charge. I never saw a more gallant thing in my life than that charge of 99 men led by Capt. Cook. When they came to the Arroyo the rebels had torn up the bridge, and out of that 99 there was but one horse that failed to clear the ditch. One man's horse fell back on him and he is here in this City now, an invalid. The Captain charged through and through their ranks and back as many as four times, shooting them with their revolvers, clubbing them, sabring them and slaughtering them generally, just spreading destruction among them, they fled up into the mountains, threw down their arms; in the meantime Capt. Downing who was on the right crossed over the mountain and drove them around this turn of the mountain, fired into them and cut off their retreat. When sundown came we had something to do with as many dead and wounded and prisoners in our possession as we had men on the field.[13] We fell back to Pigeon's ranch four miles and went into camp, informed Col. Slough by messenger of what had been done and urged him to come to our assistance as evidently the entire force of the rebels would be on us the next day. After we buried our dead and provided for the care of our wounded and their wounded we fell back to Maxwell Ranch,[14] five miles from where we had gone into camp that night and about 8 miles from where the battle closed. That

13. Chivington gave his losses as five killed and fourteen wounded. According to a Confederate soldier (Journal of Ebenezer Hanna, Ms. University of Texas Library) the Confederates lost four men killed and six wounded. In addition, Chivington states that about seventy Confederates were taken prisoner.

14. Chivington is in error here . . . it was Kozlowski's Ranch.

was the first battle we had—March 26th. 1862. A little after midnight of the 27th. Col. Slough with his troops came into camp and next morning we resumed our march and met the enemy about two miles this side of where we met them on the 26th.[15] I had been sent on a detour with about the same force—about 400 men, through the mountains to attack them from the rear. They were too strong for us and we had to play some strategy or get beaten. Col. Slough going by the main road met them about 9 o'clock. We were going through the mountains on the side of the road.[16] There was no road at all where we were we could only push through the woods. We hear the battle open,[17] hastened forwards and about 12 o'clock we arrived on the top of a mountain opposite where they had left their reserve transportation and their supplies under a strong guard.[18] We descended the mountain, dislodged the cannon that covered the mouth of the canyon, spiked them and threw them down the side of the mountain, burnt up all their supplies, blew up their ammunition, run the wagons together and set them on fire with the provisions and Quarter-master stores. At 4 o'clock in the evening, they in the front learning nothing from us and not knowing what had become of us, Col. Slough felt they were too strong for him and ordered a retreat. He fell back on Kozlowski's Ranch, and now the strangest thing perhaps occurred that happened during the war. The enemy heard of what we had done and as Col. Slough ordered a retreat, Sibley[19] sent a flag of truce that followed Col. Slough clear to Kozlowski's Ranch before they could catch them, passing our lines on the retreat, I judge not in very good order, and they sought and obtained a cessation of hostilities for 48 hours to take care of their dead and wounded, under cover of which they retreated on Santa Fe and left their dead for us

15. After the skirmish of Apache Cañon, Pyron sent out urgent pleas for reinforcements. Lieutenant Colonel William R. Scurry marched to his aid with the greater part of the brigade and assumed command.

16. Colonel Slough had learned from spies that the Confederates were entrenched at Johnson's Ranch near the western end of Apache Canyon. It was Slough's plan to march with the main force down the Santa Fe Trail through the canyon to attack the Confederates. Meanwhile Major Chivington, with a smaller detachment, was to take the mountainous route to Johnson's Ranch for the purpose of attacking the Confederates in the rear while they were being assaulted in front by Slough.

17. Apparently Chivington is in error here. According to his official report the first he and his men heard about the main battle at Glorieta was from Union prisoners who had been captured in the battle and sent to the rear. They were brought into the Confederate encampment at Johnson's Ranch and "retaken" by Chivington's force.

18. Chivington undoubtedly overestimated the number of Confederates who were guarding the wagon train and camp. Many of the Confederates were either sick, wounded, cooks, or drivers. The captain in charge of the camp later maintained that two companies which had been assigned as guards left their post to join the fight at Glorieta. Had these two units remained behind at the camp to unlease their belicose feelings against the attacking Federal detachment, Chivington's foray might have ended in failure.

19. General Sibley was in the vicinity of Albuquerque during the battle. Colonel Scurry was in command of the Confederate forces during the battle of Glorieta and it was he who sent the flag of truce.

to bury.[20] That night at midnight we gained our camp, through the mountains, and I had some trouble in reconciling my men to attempting to go into camp. They believed it was the rebels. We knew little or nothing of what had transpired at the front, but I said it didn't matter, if it was the rebels we would take them and if our fellows we would join them. We went into our camp, the rebels camped on the battle field until they rested a while and then retreated. I think the hardest task I had during the war, we bayoneted that day 1100 mules.[21] We could not get them up the mountains, it was impossible to get them away and we didn't know how many rebels were in the rear of us. We left them without any transportation, without food, ammunition, clothing or any supplies at all.[22] They retreated on Santa Fe, laid it under tribute, recruited their supplies and then commenced their movement back down the Rio Grande attempting to gain Texas again. In the meantime Gen. Canby had left Fort Craig with what troops he had in his command and marched up the Rio Grande and met and encountered in a kind of running battle Sibley and his forces as they retreated. They fought all day at long range and at night Gen. Canby took a side route and attempted to form a junction with us, and Sibley escaped down the Rio Grande with his forces.[23]

The next day after the battle of Pigeon's Ranch,[24] on the 28th. of March 1862 Col. John P. Slough resigned the colonelship of the Regiment and Col. Tappan who was then the ranking officer in that regiment,

---

20. A Confederate soldier later wrote that during the period of the truce, the Union soldiers buried their own soldiers and after finishing their task, loaned their tools to the Confederates so they could bury their dead.

21. Chivington made no mention of this in his official report of the affair. Colonel Scurry made no comment about this in his reports either. Years later a Confederate soldier who had been present at the conflict emphatically denied that any mules or horses had been bayoneted by the Federals.

22. Many New Mexicans asserted that Chivington unjustly received the credit for the burning of the Confederate supply train. The March 8, 1864, issue of the Rio Abajo *Press* scathingly denounced Chivington and objected to his "strutting about in plumage stolen from Captain William H. Lewis." The editor pointed out that it took two hours to convince Chivington to attack the train, and then remained safely behind on the mountain while the attack was carried out under the direction of Captain Lewis.

In 1864 the legislature of New Mexico passed a resolution asking the President of the United States to confer upon Captains William H. Lewis and Asa B. Carey the rank of major for their "meritorious and distinguished services in attacking the rear guard of the rebel army." No mention was made of Chivington.

23. Chivington is partly mistaken here. The bulk of the Confederate army at this time was still in and around Santa Fe. Only a small detachment had been left in Albuquerque to guard the supply depot there. Canby hoped to unite the Federal armies below the main Confederate force so as to cut off any contemplated retreat. Albuquerque was the ideal location for the junction of the Union forces. Canby made a demonstration against the town, but concluded that it was too heavily defended to be taken. He continued to attack, however, for he knew that the bulk of the Confederate army to the north would rush to the defense of the town. While the enemy was being deceived by this feint, Canby quietly moved out at night and united the Federal forces in the mountains to the east.

24. The Confederates called it the battle of Glorieta. It is commonly known by that name today.

took command of the troops, reorganized and started to form a junction with Canby and his forces.[25] On our arrival at Gen. Canby's camp he issued an order appointing me Colonel of the 1st. Regiment, subject to the approval of the Governor of Colorado, which was afterwards done.[26] Then we started in pursuit of Sibley down the Rio Grande. On the second night of our march we arrived at Peralta where we found the rebels in camp, and on the 15th. we fought all day, they being behind the adobe walls and other shelter of the town and we in the open field. On the night after the 15th. they withdrew under cover of the darkness and crossed the Rio Grande. The river was very full and they had to swim it. They disputed our crossing for four days and nights. They marched on one side of the river and we on the other. They disputed our passage whenever we attempted to cross and we tried to get sufficiently far in advance to cross without being subject to their artillery fire. On the fourth night they burned their transportation and abandoned everything except some light vehicles, packed their provisions and took to the mountains and by some mountain passes escaped; we encountered them no more.[27] We proceeded to Ft. Craig, the regulars went into the Post and we went into camp on the battle ground of Valverde.

Gen. Canby returned to Santa Fe and left me in command of the Southern District of New Mexico, where I remained until July 1862, and seeing that there was to be nothing further in the line of fighting the rebels there, I asked permission of Gen. Canby to go in person to Washington and get my troops ordered back north to the front. When I arrived in Denver, Governor [John] Evans, who had superseded Gov. Gilpin, was here and on consultation we conceived the project of trying to get the Regiment transferred from the Infantry to the Cavalry arm of the service, as we were on the frontier and the men were better

25. Canby considered Slough's aggressive military actions as a breech of orders. Rather than face the prospect of a courtmartial, Slough resigned his commission, effective April 9, and left New Mexico. Colonel Paul reassumed command of the Union forces in the northern district while Tappan temporarily commanded the First Regiment. It was Paul who was in charge of the column as it set out to form a junction with Canby.

26. Lieutenant Colonel Tappan "generously waived his rank," and a petition asking that Chivington be promoted to succeed Slough was signed by all the officers of the First Regiment and presented to Canby.

27. Canby was criticized by his contemporaries for allowing the Confederates to escape. After the skirmish of Peralta, Canby knew that the Confederates were evacuating the territory. Had he overtaken them and brought on another engagement, it would have meant the loss of more lives. Practical considerations were also important. If Canby had captured the retreating Confederate army, he would have had to feed and provide for them. The Union troops were already on short rations. From Canby's point of view the best course was to follow behind the retreating Confederates to make certain they were evacuating New Mexico.

The Confederates were as anxious as Canby not to bring on another general engagement. Had they continued on down the west bank of the Rio Grande, the Confederates would soon arrive before Fort Craig which was garrisoned by Union troops (mainly New Mexico volunteers under the command of "Kit" Carson). In order to avoid a clash, the Confederates bi-passed Fort Craig by taking a detour through the desert and mountains to the west.

adapted than ordinary men were to cavalry service, and after encountering various stoppages I at last got to Washington and secured an order from the War Department transferring my infantry to the cavalry arm of the service, with the necessary orders for the horse equipments, change of arms, etc. and got my regiment ordered out of N. M. back to Colorado.

When our Regiment was being organized here, there was a rebel force also being organized in the territory. Their rendezvous was at ..... below Russelville, about 40 miles above Cherry Creek. It was a secret. A gentleman came to my house at midnight; he was born and raised in So. Carolina; he gave me information of that rendezvous and their intentions, which were to rob Denver, plunder the banks etc. then get away, march through the Indian territory and go to Texas to join the rebel forces. The information proved to be true and we surprised them and captured them. That was when the regiment was first beginning. About 100 men got away and went into camp somewhere beyond the Arkansas River near what was then called Fort Wise since Fort Lyon, after Gen. Lyon. They were captured by the regular troops that were then stationed at Fort Lyon. We sent troops down and brought them back here and those prisoners that we brought here was the worst job we ever had on our hands, a regular elephant. We kept them here under guard, fed them, and while it was a clear case that they had organized for all these purposes yet we could not seem to do anything with them. They were kind of half political and half way military prisoners and gave us a great deal of trouble.

By the time the troops returned—late in the Fall of 1862 from New Mexico, [they] were mounted and equipped as cavalry. The Indians began to be more or less refractory, but we passed the winter of 1862 and 1863 without any very great amount of open hostility, just stealthy work. In April a messenger from Irwin & Jackmans stock camp (they were government freighters, freighting supplies from the Mo. River to the different posts in New Mexico, Colorado and what is now Wyoming. They were about 40 miles from here in the basin) came in and reported that the Indians had driven off a hundred head of their stock and had fled in the direction of Fremont's Orchard. I sent a messenger to Capt. [George L.] Sanborn who was 20 miles down the Platte with a company of men, to send a detachment and intercept them and recover the stock. Just as the Indians were finishing their crossing of the Platte River near Fremont's Orchard Lieut. Dunn came up with them crossed over likewise and demanded the stock. While he and the chiefs were parleying under a flag of truce (it was getting dark in the evening and a snow storm set in) he discovered that the Indians were running off the stock under cover of their parley and that he was losing what he had come for. He informed the chiefs that if they did not deliver up the stock they were running off, he would be compelled to take it by force; when at a signal given by the chiefs the Indians opened fire on him when he

was more than 100 paces from any of his own men, just standing alone. The troops rode to his rescue and returned their fire, but darkness came on and he withdrew across the Platte River. The Indians escaped with their booty and we never got it back.

From that time we were incessantly at war the whole Spring, Summer and Fall, either running after Indians or protecting the stage coaches and emigrant trains. The Indians murdered that we know of besides those that were unknown—about 170 men, women and children indiscriminately, whether ranchmen or stockmen, returners from here to the States or persons coming here in quest of gold—we called them "Pilgrims" in those days, freighters who had trains on the plains, with their mules, horses and wagons bringing in merchandize, summer supplies etc. During that time, from the Little Blue in Kansas by the way of the Platte route to Denver and from Walnut creek in Kansas by the Arkansas route to Denver and as far south as the Cimmaron Pass no one was safe from Indian depredations in that whole length of country. I had no troops at my command more than would just protect the stage line and keep the mail open and did not do that always. For three months we got all our mail from New York by the way of San Francisco, as the country west of here was comparatively free from Indian depredations.

* * *

Mrs. Henry Stoes, pioneer resident and civic leader of Las Cruces for over 30 years, . . . died at Memorial General Hospital at 2:30 p.m. Wednesday.

Mrs. Stoes, born March 30, 1872, in Lake City, Minn., was unofficial historian of Las Cruces, and since her return in girlhood after receiving her education in Minnesota, had been identified with the progress of Las Cruces and the Mesilla Valley. She was the daughter of John C. Doughty and Mary Caroline Herron. She was married to Henry Stoes in 1898.

Mrs. Stoes was stricken Saturday afternoon at her home. She had been active as usual in the days preceding the fatal illness.

Survivors include three grandchildren, Richard P. Stoes and Philip H. Stoes, sons of Mrs. Betty Stoes of Las Cruces who also survives her; and Mary Phillis Stoes of Roswell. A sister, Mrs. L. H. Henschel resides in Kansas City, Mo.

Her husband and two sons preceded her in death. One son, Paul, died about a year ago in New York.

Mrs. Stoes had been active in most worthy organizations, groups and clubs here through the years. In many cases she had promoted and helped organize these movements all designed and formulated to build Las Cruces into a desirable place to live and into a better city . . . .

She came to Las Cruces during the early 1870s and then returned to Minnesota where she was educated and then returned to Las Cruces

to teach high school work in the struggling A&M college and to participate in practically every community and civic enterprise.

She was active in the formulation of the Women's Improvement Association organized in those early days. She frequently recalled how the women in this organization raised funds to buy a sprinkler to keep the dust down in the city. They also purchased the first horse drawn hearse used in this community. It was the WIA that established and created Pioneer Park in the city and cared for it until they turned it over to the city. . . .

She often related her experiences when the wagon trains brought the merchandise to Las Cruces from St. Louis and the midwest. Her late husband, Henry Stoes, worked in one of the general mercantile stores of those days. Later he owned and operated the furniture store known today as the Las Cruces Furniture store.

Mrs. Stoes probably had the most complete files and records of early day happenings and occurrences of anyone in the city. It was not unusual for local people as well as those seeking historical facts on Las Cruces and New Mexico to write, call or visit her at her home. . . .

Many a well known writer had secured part of the material that went into his book from her. Only recently the publication by the University of Oklahoma Press of the "Bar Cross Man" related some interesting incidents concerning Mrs. Stoes. One of these was the occasion when she accompanied Eugene Manlove Rhodes to a dance held near Hatch. . . .

Mrs. Stoes despite her vast knowledge and records of the past lived in the present and retained her interest in Las Cruces, its growth and her future. She still participated to some extent in political campaigns always belonging to the Republican party. . . .

Las Cruces Sun-News, Thursday, March 14, 1957.

The Mormons. By Thomas F. O'Dea. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. Pp. xii, 289. Index. $5.

Dr. O'Dea has undertaken the analysis of the "Mormon" religion both in ideal orientation and in practical social organization. He claims that as an "outsider" he has tried to combine "intellectual objectivity with intelligent human sympathy" in the study of a complex phenomenon. The author takes the position that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is properly explainable as an exclusively human psycho-social development, with the claims of this church to latter day revelation being completely unfounded.

Four streams of influence upon Mormon development from religious movements of the time are described: first, a general expectancy in keeping with the Protestant Reformation for the establishment of new religious denominations; second, an appreciation of and search for a single united church expressed in the Mormon claim to devine restoration; third, a religio-economic communitarianism based upon the New Testament reference to believers having all things in common; and fourth, an emphasis upon human freedom and striving. These and a secularly derived confidence in the ordinary man are posited as having been the major social stimuli in response to which Mormonism occurred.

Considerable attention is given throughout the work to an historical tracing of concepts which became a part of the Mormon world view and social organization.

In discussing the origin of the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith is described as a normal person living in an atmosphere of religious excitement who was led, in simple common sense explanation, from necromancy to revelation to prophecy to religious leadership and finally to involvement in fatal intergroup conflicts.

Joseph Smith is depicted throughout as having developed concepts and church organization as events occurred in response to the exigencies of the moment. Crisis followed crisis through the various stages of church development, and the responses of Joseph Smith and other church leaders are re-

ported as exhibiting authoritarian tendencies, condoning if not inciting terrorism and massacre, engaging in untruthful statements concerning polygamy and later as using force against religious opposition in Utah. Dr. O'Dea amasses considerable data on church history and doctrine.

The *Book of Mormon* is described as "wholeheartedly and completely Armenian" (p. 28), and an ideal projection of left wing protestantism. *Book of Mormon* characters, the Nephites, are found to have had expectations which correspond to those of 19th century Protestants.

In contrast to *Book of Mormon* conventionality, the author describes sharp departures from Protestantism in "revelations" reported by Joseph Smith many years after the *Book of Mormon* publication. Among the innovations were the concepts that "all spirit is matter," that "God is a material being," that God "was once an exalted man," and that men through eternal progression may become Gods.

Values of Mormonism are depicted as emphasizing freedom, rationality, progress, self-improvement and mastery for man in advancement toward perfection under the authoritarian direction of God.

Dr. O'Dea points out sources of strain and conflict in Mormonism. Ten sources are discussed of which the "Mormon encounter with modern secular thought" is considered the most current. The meat of this discussion involves conflict between a conservative church leadership (dubbed literalist, fundamentalist, and politically and socially conservative) and liberal intellectuals representing the creative secular specialists whose contributions are not being made a part of the ongoing social organization. The conservative aspect of this problem is discussed under the headings of "Progress versus Agrarianism" and "Political Conservatism versus Social Idealism." Interviews are reported with critical Mormon intellectuals in support of this major source of strain. Looking to the future of Mormonism, Dr. O'Dea sees strain, conflict and excessive activity in endless church meetings. He also sees considerable vitality which he concludes does not auger badly for the Mormons.

On three counts the criteria of judgment used by the

author must be critically examined. First, he is maintaining that Joseph Smith from early in youth throughout the mature years of his life perpetrated, taught and lived a lie. This accusation is a serious matter and requires careful documentation. Second, he is challenging the foundations of religious belief of something over a million contemporary people. Third, Dr. O'Dea's employment by a Catholic university representing a rival religious orientation further requires that he be particularly objective and present no statement which is not fully documented and clearcut in its obvious implication. With these factors in mind let us consider the standards of judgment used.

A primary concern is with evidence of use of scientific method. Dr. O'Dea is a specialist in the sociology of religion, which discipline makes its claim to distinction because of its adherence to scientific procedure. While trained as a sociologist, at no place in the book does he claim that he is writing as a sociologist. Such claim is intimated only by the publishers on the jacket of the book.

The sociologist as a scientist necessarily distinguishes the superempirical from the empirical and confines himself, except for description, to empirical matters which can be reproduced through scientific procedures and to generalizations therefrom. When confronted with such non-empirical questions as when, how and to whom God gives revelations, and even such mundane non-empirical questions as what a dead man actually thought in contrast to what he communicated to others, the sociologist admits that his tools of analysis are inadequate. In these areas the sociologist describes without passing judgment. Dr. O'Dea, on the other hand, not only passes judgment concerning these non-empirical matters, but sets himself up as an authority who presumes to explain the non-empirical "truth" to the reader. The thesis of the book rests upon these non-empirical judgments. In the mind of this reviewer, the author thereby largely disqualified his work from classification as either a sociological or a scientific treatment.

What procedures are used by Dr. O'Dea to assure the

reader that his selection of materials is more valid than that of other writers? In support of his objectivity we would include his own claims, an imposing list of scholarly persons and institutions with which he has been associated, a lengthy set of notes at the end of the volume, an imposing historical perspective, a lengthy description of Mormon doctrine and organization, an obviously keen mind and an impressive amount of plain hard digging for considerable information. On the other hand, in *The Mormons* one finds sources quoted and then disqualified as being unreliable or representing hearsay. Why were they quoted? Many anti-Mormon statements of questionable historical fact are made in chapters three and five without reference to or evaluation of sources. There is failure to emphasize evidence which many feel favors the "Mormon" position, e.g., twenty-four year old, untrained "neer-do well"(?) Joseph Smith writing the *Book of Mormon* with its tremendous synthesis of religious ideology as described by Dr. O'Dea. Little attention is given (p. 40) to Joseph Smith's rather remarkable feat of dictating the 522 page *Book of Mormon* from behind a curtain to scribes with whom he lived and associated daily without them realizing that it was, according to the author, a hoax. One wonders if such "building of atmosphere" and treatment of antithematic evidence represents adequate objectivity.

Scholarly procedure requires the orientation of the "open mind" wherein alternative conclusions are logically derived from careful evaluation of evidence. Dr. O'Dea's book appears to represent a selection and interpretation of evidence oriented toward making the case for his assumption. The reader searches in vain for the "open-minded" approach wherein the conflicting evidences are fully presented, and is allowed the pleasure of making his own decisions.

The discussion of Mormon values is incomplete in an important respect: love, ordinarily considered the core of Christianity, is omitted. In his discussion of "Mormon" values and orientation he seems to minimize the relationship of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to Jesus Christ and to the way of life which He taught.

Thomas O'Dea's *The Mormons* exhibits extensive research and analysis. It is unfortunate that such an effort lacks the highest standards of full presentation and neutral interpretation.

University of New Mexico EZRA GEDDES

Three Years Among the Comanches. By Nelson Lee. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957. Pp. 179. $2.

Originally published in 1859, *Three Years Among the Comanches* is another of The Western Frontier Library series issued by the University of Oklahoma Press in an effort to make rare bits of Western Americana available to the reading public. It carries a foreword by Walter Prescott Webb, well known historian and author of "The Texas Rangers," it is well designed and mechanically is a fit companion to other books in the series.

The contents of *Three Years Among the Comanches* does not quite measure up to certain of its predecessors such as *The Vigilantes of Montana, The Banditti of the Plains* and *The Authentic Life of Billy the Kid.* The author, Nelson Lee, had adventures enough to satisfy anyone, no matter how daring. He was a sailor and served briefly in the Texas Navy. He saw action on the Texas frontier serving as a Ranger under famous captains and fighting against outlaw gangs, Mexican marauders and Indians. He avoided capture during the tragic Mier expedition but was not so fortunate when, trading along the frontier, he was taken by the Comanches and held prisoner for three years. All of this and his eventual escape from the Comanches should and does make exciting reading. Unfortunately, however, Lee was not thought competent to tell his own story and so related it to an amanuensis. This unknown editor must have been a "literary person." There can be no doubt that he smoothed out the narrative but in so doing much of the virility and life that Lee must have breathed into it was lost. Despite the editing *Three Years Among the Comanches* remains a remarkable document, well worthy of a place on the shelves of any collector.

Albuquerque, N. M. BENNETT FOSTER

The Land Between: Dr. James Schiel's Account of the Gunnison-Beckwith Expedition into the West, 1853-1854. By Frank W. Bachmann and William S. Wallace. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1957. Pp. 162. Illustrations, map, and index. $6.

Historians are familiar with Asa Whitney's dream of a Pacific Railroad. In *The Land Between,* an edited and annotated translation by Bachmann and Wallace, we have one phase of the federal government's elaborate program of the Pacific Railroad surveys between the 38th and 41st parallels. The slender volume, published by the Westernlore Press, forms volume IX in The Great West and Indian Series.

The book easily falls into two parts, the editors' introduction and Dr. Schiel's journal. In the former, the editors deal with the Pacific Railroad survey program as a whole; Gunnison's assignment and assistants—with a detailed account of Dr. Schiel's professional background; the survey and the tragic massacre; Lieutenant Beckwith's completion of the survey; and the value of the volume.

Dr. Schiel's journal, of course, forms the bulk and meat of the book. The march westward from Westport to California, the physician-scientist presents in minute detail. Altitudes and distances between important landmarks are recorded with extreme care. Of special interest are the descriptions and vivid pictures of the topography and life in the prairie and mountain country. Rivers and creeks, mountains and valleys, varied rock formations are observed with the eye of the trained scientist. The influence of climate elicits Dr. Schiel's comment. Buffaloes—"herds of those colossal beasts"—myriads of mosquitoes—"blood thirsty creatures which torment their victims," cagey prairie dogs, innumerable rattle snakes and grizzly bears call forth surprise and wonder. His description of prairie and Rocky Mountain Indians is quite accurate as well as illuminating. In the account of the vastness of the plains, mountains, and wild life we have the psychological point of view of the foreigner.

The Mormons, Schiel found a merry lot—singing, dancing and enjoying theatricals. Of their religion he was a harsh critic, but praised their industry. Their revealed religion he

considered arrant nonsense devised by "ignorant, selfish, ambitious" leaders. The system of plural wives he condemned roundly. Brigham Young "had neither much knowledge nor an unusual amount of intelligence. He does, however, possess administrative talent, a good bit of shrewdness, and he knows his flock well."

A photograph of the luckless Captain Gunnison, the title page of Schiel's Account [in German], and several pertinent illustrations add to the interest. The inclusion of Eggloffstein's much reduced map from Beckwith's *Official Report* is disappointing. Even with the aid of a reading glass, the places along the route are difficult to read.

The Land Between is a contribution and deserves a place in Western Americana.

Harris Teachers College — A. B. BENDER

Violence in Lincoln County, 1869-1881: a New Mexico Item. By William A. Keleher. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957. Pp. 390. $6.

Violence in Lincoln County is the work of one of the distinguished members of the Bar of New Mexico. Author Keleher has combined the disciplines of historical scholarship and the law to bring forth one of the most dispassionate accounts of the Lincoln County holocaust ever to see print.

This is Keleher's fourth book on New Mexico. All of them deal with the territorial period. A discernible continuity is evident from one volume to the next, and if he continues at his present rate, he will eventually produce a set of books that will be a fairly complete history of the territorial period.

This latest book is divided into sixteen chapters preceded by a "Foreword." One of the most significant passages in the entire narrative appears in the "Foreword." Keleher concisely establishes the position and importance of the Lincoln County events when he states:

> . . . the Lincoln County War was a vast and complicated event, or series of events. Despite assertions made by some writers to the contrary, Texans had little or nothing to do with that war. It was a contest unique in the frontier life of America, fought

> to a finish between and among men from various parts of the globe. . . . It was a young man's war, inaugurated and carried on, sometimes unwittingly, by men of strong and determined character, but distorted vision. Few participants were willing to give an inch of ground, or take a step toward the peaceful settlement of controversies.
>
> The Lincoln County War of 1878 is seen only through the haze of years. Blurred figures appear on the horizon of history. Men in high place, in civil and military life, schemed, connived and conspired to accomplish unworthy objectives; selfish men, ambitious for wealth and power, turned arrogant and hostile in their endeavors; ignorant men, acting in utter disregard of the rights of others, blindly followed stupid leaders along trails of dishonor which led to disaster. . . . Men, regardless of whether they were good men or bad men, and regardless of their motives, united in starting a conflagration which continued to illumine the skies of southeastern New Mexico for a generation after their day. Ghostly embers of that conflagration still exist in the recollection of descendants of Lincoln County pioneers. The scars it left on the countryside are apparent and visible today along the Pecos River, the Bonito, the Hondo, in the White Mountains and the Sacramentos (pp. xiii-xiv).

This reviewer was most interested in Chapter Eight, "Lew. Wallace, Governor." Too often in the past researchers have let Lew. Wallace's literary fame cloud the really mediocre showing he made as governor of New Mexico. Wallace was interested in obtaining a diplomatic appointment to a "glamorous far-off country." Instead, he was "handed an administrative position in a remote Territory, at a salary of $2,400 a year" (p. 176).

Chapter Eleven, "Crimination and Recrimination," attempts to sift the evidence of what really caused the McSween-Chisum-Murphy-Dolan-Riley troubles. This chapter points up the need for additional study of one of the individuals involved in the Lincoln County War, Col. N. A. M. Dudley. Was he wittingly an accomplice to outright murder? Why did he act as he did on that bloody July 19, 1878? The military records of Fort Union, New Mexico, indicate excessive indulgence in drink stronger than water may have had a bearing on Dudley's service while in New Mexico. Both before and after his New Mexico service Dudley's record was above

reproach. Recently released records by the National Archives of Dudley's court martial may also shed additional light on this problem. Keleher apparently didn't have access to an extremely rare little book covering the July, 1878, period in Lincoln: Ruth R. Ealy's edited copy of her father's diary, *Water for a Thirsty Land.* This is much more thorough than the magazine articles by Ealy referred to by Keleher (p. 245, *note* 2).

Chapter Twelve, "From Guns to Diplomacy," is the longest chapter of the book. In it the international aspects of the murder of John Henry Tunstall, a British subject, are presented. This consists of a minute examination of the findings of a special investigator sent to New Mexico by the Department of State, Frank Warren Angel. Although the investigation was prompt and thorough it took more than seven years for the Department of State to notify the British government that the United States must decline any responsibility for Tunstall's death. Secretary of State Bayard maintained "that the American government owed no duty to the Tunstall heirs because Tunstall had been domiciled in the United States and at the time of his death was actively engaged in business in New Mexico" (p. 248).

Keleher has used a variety of sources. Particularly prominent in his documentation are the administrative papers of the Axtell and Wallace tenures; the Lew. Wallace collection of the Indiana Historical Society; numerous federal and state court records; personal interviews (one dating back to 1910); and territorial newspapers. Each chapter is followed by a section headed, "Notes and Profiles." These sections should prove of future value to researchers for the wealth of biographical information they contain.

This book is no gaudy bauble for the "specialist" in Western blood and thunder. Through years of painstaking examination of the pertinent documents available to him, Keleher has achieved a synthesis of the Lincoln County War materials that withstand the most critical tests of scholarship. This is a volume of substantial importance on the history of New Mexico—not artistic trivia.

One cannot help but wish that Keleher will in someway

find the time to write his memoirs. His many years of intimate association with the bench and bar of New Mexico should provide future students with much important information.

The book is accompanied by a thorough index, end-paper maps, a frontispiece by E. L. Blumenschein, and eight pages of contemporary photographs.

New Mexico Highlands University WILLIAM S. WALLACE

The Mexican CORRIDO as a Source for Interpretative Study of Modern Mexico (1870-1950). By Merle E. Simmons. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957. Pp. xviii, 619. Bibliography. $10.

Historians will welcome this pioneer attempt to utilize ballads as key documents for understanding an important facet of the Mexican historical panorama. Making use of 1,300 *corridos*, Professor Simmons attempts to analyze and describe events as Juan Criollo saw them. The author suggests that his exposure of widespread inaccuracies and prejudices in the *pueblo's* view of history may contribute to the solution of some inexplicable enigmas that have heretofore baffled historians of modern Mexico.

The period of coverage described in the title of this work, 1870-1950, is somewhat misleading. Actually, the Díaz Period is treated only briefly in two introductory chapters. Five-sixths of the study is devoted to the 1910-1950 period.

More than half the book (Part II) deals with personalities of the revolution. Out of the analysis come the following conclusions and observations. In the popular mind, as reflected by the *corridos*, Porfirio Díaz was initially admired for his great personal valor, later damned for his tyranny and injustice. Yet, with the passage of time, by 1920, the antagonism toward Díaz appreciably mellowed. Francisco Madero, while he lived, enjoyed greater popular adulation than any other revolutionary personage except Lázaro Cárdenas. Yet, with the passage of time he tended to be forgotten, and his critics now seem to have gained ascendancy over his supporters. Victoriano Huerta has the dubious honor of

emerging as the most hated and despised man in modern Mexican history, and the popular antagonism toward this brutal despot is still apparent today. In general, the people were somewhat indifferent to Venustiano Carranza, indifferent both to the man himself and the program sponsored by his regime, and his efforts to consolidate his political power only brought widespread hostility. On the other hand, the balladeers reveal that Carranza's successor, General Alvaro Obregón, enjoyed great personal popularity, although there was somewhat less public enthusiasm for the policies of his government.

The *pueblo* tended to ignore the notable material progress made under the Plutarco Elías Calles administration; instead they heaped condemnation upon the president for precipitating a serious conflict between Church and State. The author asserts that "there is no approval of Calles' policy toward the Church in any of the *corridos* we know." That Lázaro Cárdenas had tremendous popular following is substantiated by the great amount of attention paid him in the *corridos*. In none of the popular ballads seen by the author was any criticism of this president ever expressed. In contrast to his predecessors, the Cárdenas program as well as his character was praised. He was the most popular public figure in Mexico's modern history. Largely because of Manuel Avila Comacho's uninspiring public personality but scant attention was paid to him by the *corridistas*. Miguel Alemán, a man with few ties to the common people, was similarly somewhat ignored.

In addition to the pre-1940 presidents, two other revolutionary leaders—Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata—received great attention from the balladeers. Villa, though not associated with any positive reform program, was worshipped for his unselfish patriotism, his fight for justice, his military genius, and his extraordinary personal valor. Following the *caudillo's* death, he was transformed into a legendary popular hero. Zapata's fame, unlike Villa's, was regional rather than national, but he was worshipped for his program ("Land and Liberty") as well as his personal characteristics.

Also, Zapata came closer than any other Mexican figure to becoming an "epic" hero.

Part three of the book deals with revolutionary ideology. The author attempts to analyze, through the medium of the *corridos,* popular attitudes toward the reform program of the revolution. The *pueblo,* we find, soon became disillusioned with political reform and grew increasingly cynical towards the revolutionary leaders. Agrarian reform, except in Morelos where Zapata operated, did not become a live, meaningful, popular issue until the time of Cárdenas. Similarly, labor reform was slow to capture the imagination of the masses. Broad public support for the labor movement began to build up in the 1920's, to reach a peak under Cárdenas, and then to decline beginning in the early 1940's. As to religious reform, the author sums up as follows: "The total impression left by the *corridos* suggests that, because of the peculiar nature of the Mexican *pueblo's* Catholicism, both the Revolutionary attempts at religious reform and the Church's defense against attacks must be reckoned as ignominious failures."

Part four of the book, consisting of a single chapter, deals with popular reaction to Mexico's relations with the government and citizens of the United States. Here the story is one of vehement popular denunciation of the United States intervention, exploitation, mistreatment, cowardice, and superiority complex. Fortunately, since the Good Neighbor policy began, popular antagonism toward the gringos has gradually quieted down, and the author even detects a cautious contemporary tendency toward positive cooperation.

Everything considered, one has to admire Professor Simmon's creditable scholarly step into the field of mass psychoanalysis. His conclusions about the workings of the popular mind, as revealed through the medium of popular poets, will present few surprises to historians of modern Mexico. The latter, however, will be pleased to see that most all of their own conclusions about popular attitudes, arrived at by examination of more conventional documentary materials, are substantiated by this important work of Professor Simmons.

This reviewer has but one major criticism. The author,

in the opinion of the reviewer, tends to overrate the *power* of public opinion. For example, it appears highly questionable whether "the *real cause* of [Carranza's] downfall was the active hostility which a large part of the common people felt for him" (p. 145), or whether "the *pueblo's hostility* to armed uprisings and its refusal to glorify military heroes have produced inevitably a decline in the prestige and influence of the army" (p. 328). (Italics mine).

University of New Mexico EDWIN LIEUWEN

The Structure of a Moral Code: A Philosophical Analysis of Ethical Discourse Applied to the Ethics of the Navaho Indians. By John Ladd. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957, pp. 474. Field Notes. Bibliography. Index. $8.

Professor Ladd has added[1] a monumental volume to a relatively new kind of philosophical literature; namely, the analysis of a moral code of a non-literate people in terms of the refined distinctions of contemporary ethical theory. The ethics of "primitive" peoples has received attention in the past especially from those writers, like Westermarck and Hobhouse, who were interested in tracing out the order of a possible moral evolution for mankind. Since the day when broad evolutionary hypotheses went out of style, ethnologists have been too often content to accept the verdict of Sumner and Keller that whatever there is of ethics in a culture is merely a by-product of that culture's conventions, so that judgments of right and wrong, having no cross-cultural value, are of small concern to the would-be "scientist of society." This view, coupled with the emphasis on behaviorism in the "behavioral" sciences, has led to an overemphasis upon the overt actions of a people and away from the examination of such subjectively hazardous matters as moral beliefs. In answer to these one-sided approaches, it is refreshing and significant that a few contemporary philosophers and ethnologists are attacking as "scientifically" as possible the study of ethical materials in diverse unlettered cultures.

1. See also *Hopi Ethics* by Richard Brandt (University of Chicago Press, 1954).

These inquiries are pertinent both to ethnology and philosophy. And one might expect them to have even wider appeal; for a knowledge of moral goals is certainly a matter of universal human concern. Unfortunately, it would be asking too much to find the philosopher, the ethnologist, and the general reader all equally served in the same volume. At least, Mr. Ladd's volume does not do this; for it is clearly directed especially to the ethical theorist. This fact is indicated not only by his title, but also by the proportion of the book which is concerned with the nature and logic of descriptive ethics. Only in the third part are his analyses focused upon Navaho ethics. Hence, this work should be judged principally for its contribution to ethical theory, even though it has the advantage of being a theory applied. Yet one cannot but regret, in view of the many failures of ethnologists to handle or comprehend the problems underlying ethical data, that studies of this type do not direct themselves more toward students of social phenomena, sparing them some of the philosophical niceties and explaining more simply some of the basic distinctions. For example, the distinction, made by Professor Ladd, between descriptive and normative ethics is certainly a central one which is too frequently ignored in ethnological literature. Too often ethical issues have been avoided because the notion of ethics has been confined to an ideal universal of "normative" ethics. But further, an elementary understanding of the criteria necessary for descriptive ethics is most urgently needed by those who confuse ethical data with overt behavior, or who consider that any data regarding ethical matters are ipso facto impervious to scientific study.

Mr. Ladd is to be commended for the care with which he has attempted to distinguish and sort out ethical material. This is no easy task; for the needed criteria are in the first place subject to a variety of alternative views, and in the second place they are never obvious or simple. Thus, for various reasons, Mr. Ladd restricts his data to "moral prescriptions," that is, those injunctions and prohibitions which "are superior in that they claim sufficiency, ultimacy, and priority, and are thought to be legitimate in that they are justifiable, intersubjectively valid, and founded in reality," a set of cri-

teria which he readily admits are not as adequate as he would wish (p. 107). Moral prescriptions would exclude, we are told, technological prescriptions, matters of etiquette, and traditional practices. Also, they must be carefully distinguished from moral evaluations; for a prescription recommends action whereas an evaluation passes judgment upon a past or potential act. Mr. Ladd deems it more profitable to inquire after moral prescriptions when dealing with a nonliterate culture, since they would normally occur quite often, especially in didactic, admonitory, or exhortative discourse, while evaluations would be reserved for those few instances in which a native philosopher is seeking justifications for customary rules in terms of larger principles. These might occur, but much more rarely in a culture which has no tradition for such philosophizing. In this we must concur. Yet would it not be profitable also to look for the evaluation on the chance that, rare though it might be, if it did occur it would throw much light on the entire ethical orientation, assuming of course that the evaluator expressed the implicit philosophy of his culture?

Having established the nature of the data to be examined and the logical structure of moral discourse, Mr. Ladd turns to his study of the Navaho. His information in this respect is drawn from the writings of such Navaho authorities as Father Berard Haile, Washington Matthews, Clyde Kluckhohn, Gladys Reichard, Walter Dyk, W. W. Hill, R. N. Rapoport, E. Z. Vogt, and others. But principally, Mr. Ladd himself went into the field to collect information from a Navaho informant carefully selected as a "moralist." Such an individual in any culture, he reasons, will be in a better position than others to know the moral prescriptions of his people. Also, if Mr. Ladd's field work appears a bit slight, it is well to remember that one ideal of science is to test a carefully thought out hypothesis by searching for crucial evidence. It is this type of scientific endeavor that is here represented.

Mr. Ladd's conclusions with respect to Navaho moral prescriptions are interesting but not surprising. He characterizes them as "rationalistic, prudentialistic, egoistic, and

utilitarian" (p. 212). By rationalistic, he means merely that for the Navaho the best way to handle disputes is to "talk things over." Aggressive violence within the group is always to be avoided in the interest of group harmony, so that it is repeatedly prescribed that one should think and talk things out.

By prudentialistic and egoistic, Mr. Ladd indicates that Navaho moral prescriptions are nearly always couched in terms of personal advantage for the agent. Yet, though focusing upon individual egoism, altruistic ends are not excluded; for the general hypothesis seems to be that what is good for the individual is also good for the group. Hence, these prescriptions are also utilitarian. Now Mr. Ladd notes that this transition from egoism to altruism may rest upon the underlying assumption that there need be no personal competition, since there is plenty for all. One might inject the thought, however, that such a view is rather to be expected of a group living in the status of semi-nomadic hunters and herders. Group solidarity for such people would be of the utmost importance, and it is natural that the good of the individual is seen to be closely tied in with the good of the group. The doctrine of reciprocity, which seems to trouble Mr. Ladd as somehow out of keeping with his major hypothesis of egoism (pp. 291, 311), is plausibly explainable in terms of a group in which individual welfare is closely interwoven with group welfare. The practice of paying back gifts, which Mr. Ladd would exclude altogether from the range of moral prescriptions on the ground that it is instead a "traditional practice" (p. 290), may very well be part of a larger picture in which reciprocity underlies and explains the faith in egoism; for a knowledge that giving will bring a reciprocal return, even without a special prescription to this effect, would be consonant with an egoistic motive for giving. Yet the knowledge of a deeper habit of reciprocity makes possible the egoistic reason for one's giving. Is it not likely that such reciprocity is so deeply latent as not to be needed among the usual prescriptions? Mr. Ladd seems to suggest that the Navaho ego is enlarged and in considerable measure identified with the group. For example, he observes (p. 299) that the Navaho

tends "to look at things objectively, or, in a sense behavioristically, rather than subjectively as some of our Western hedonistic egoists tend to do." This is suggested, moreover, by the translation of *baa hozhon* (there is all around beauty, goodness, pleasantness). Goodness is objective because it is not something that one finds tightly held within one but because it is a general pervasive characteristic of the natural and human environment.

In general, it appears to this reviewer that Mr. Ladd's analysis of Navaho ethics suffers from an overmeticulous excision of many pertinent aspects which he would call "extrinsic" to his narrowed problem. One simply cannot dissect a total social climate in this way. Would it not lead us further to seek out as our hypothesis some central dominant key ideas or ideals of a culture, and then test these by the degree of light which they shed upon such particulars as "moral prescriptions"? Of course, one needs materials as the ground for formulating any hypothesis, and certainly the more the better. The difficult question here is whether this "more" should not include also a wide variety.

However, Mr. Ladd's main effort, we must recall, was directed toward the construction and application of criteria for discovering and projecting a somewhat implicit moral code. Within the confines of this problem, he has succeeded very well. It is now to be hoped that other aspects of the total ethical problem, such as the place of traditional practices and of moral evaluations, will be similarly explored.

University of New Mexico. H. G. ALEXANDER

The Rhodes Reader: Stories of Virgins, Villains, and Varmints. By Eugene Manlove Rhodes. Selected by W. H. Hutchinson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957. Pp. xxvii, 316. $5.

Gene Rhodes knew the men—and the land. Now, as we read him with a wistful backward glance, his New Mexico seems as legendary, as far away, as those other ringing plains of windy Troy, its men and arms Homeric in their simple truth and vigor. The years have done their winnowing, for

Rhodes as well as Homer, and we can separate, as Rhodes could not, his *Paso por aqui* from *The Riders of the Purple Sage*. This new selection, *The Rhodes Reader*, by W. H. Hutchinson, will confirm the distinction and remind us once again how truly a land and the people who reflect it can be epic in a manner quite unsuspected by the purveyors of horse opera.

The twelve stories and three prose pieces limn the New Mexico of 1903 to 1928; six have already appeared in book form; nine are reprinted for the first time since their original appearances in magazines such as *Out West, Redbook,* and the *Saturday Evening Post.* Mr. Hutchinson's introduction is adequate, his editorial comments competent and helpful—and as tastefully unobtrusive as his sub-title is gauche and misleading. The non-fiction is New Mexico documentary: "The Barred Door" celebrates the flamboyant tactlessness of A. F. Fall when he was "rebuked" by President Taft at the famous Alvarado banquet in the Albuquerque of 1909 for mentioning Taft's empty promises of statehood. "In Defense of Pat Garrett" declares Rhodes' sympathies for the McSween-Tunstall-Chisum side in the Lincoln County War, that conflict which Will Keleher has recently documented so thoroughly and judiciously. In support of Garrett, Rhodes takes issue with Walter Noble Burns' romantic concept of Billy the Kid. "The West that Was" pleads for a western literature freed from the romanticized cowboy as well as from the critical snobberies of the "intellectuals."

The fiction in this collection is worthy of this Rhodes' precept. Whether the plotting is tight as in "The Fool's Heart" or a mere sketch of journeying as in "The Cheerful Land," the tale belongs to working cowboys and their landscape, recorded with the binocular vision—poet's eye and camera eye—that is Rhodes' peculiar magic with the men and the land he loved. The touch of the golden age is on these men. But they knew about work and humor and the proper love of money. "Mighty nice people, too—most of 'em is," says Emil James of "The Cheerful Land." "A few mean ones . . . stewin' about a little dirty money when men's lives were at stake. That's how you can pick the bad ones, kid—by the value they set on money."

Jeff Bransford, who bluffed a lynching party with great good humor ("The Trouble Man"), and John Wesley Pringle, who stood off that same party and later (in "A Number of Things") flitted in innocent merriment between Springtime Morgan's jail and the San Marcial Harvey House, were mighty nice people, too. Above all stood Aforesaid Bates of "The Bird in the Bush" and the most delightful story in the book, "Aforesaid Bates." Shrewd, unheroic, generous, beating the drought and the "mean ones," those perennial over-reachers who haunted the Deming-Las Cruces-Rincon *El Mundo Chico,* he invoked the old solidarity of the frontier *comitatus:* "We made a pool, you understand. Not mine, yours, or his. . . . One for all and all for one—that sort of blitherin' junk."

This story and the longer, less finished "No Mean City" tell of only yesterday in New Mexico. Better than the German spy plot which intrudes into the latter are its account of the brief glory that was Engle, the coming of Elephant Butte, and the picture of rugged old Ben Teagardner and young Joe Cady as they viewed the old Gonzales Ranch, shimmering and ghostly under the golden waters of Elephant Butte Lake, "a fine old nest and mighty fine people. . . . It wasn't everybody just working for himself. They was pulling for the homestead."

Rhodes ranged easily through central and southern New Mexico, east and west from the Rio Grande: the Jornada, Fra Christobal, the San Andres, the Caballos; Socorro, Magdalena, the San Mateos—where the legendary Son Todos and and the old ranch house of San Clemente lie sunning in memory. Always the land is there, in the rhythms of Rhodes' stirred affections:

> Wherever the eye might turn it fell on great mountains, even when you woke in the starlit night; crimson-edged against the rising sun or black against the dawn; gray, brown or blueblack of morning hours, dwindled and dim in the blaze of noon, neutral and smudged.

And now the work of Engle and *El Mundo Chico* is done; ironically the names of Trinity and Holloman are written on the Jornada del Muerto. The Enchanted Valley, the Cheerful

Land, San Clemente and Son Todos sink down into the shadows, like the old Gonzales ranch beneath the floods of change. Rhodes sleeps on the San Andres summit. But the land remains—"across the desert, dim and far . . . a long wall uneven and unbroken, range after bristling range—in a linked and welded chain. . . ."

University of New Mexico KATHERINE SIMONS

The Historical Society of New Mexico

Organized December 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

1859 — Col. John B. Grayson, U. S. A.
1861 — Maj. James L. Donaldson, U. S. A.
1863 — Hon. Kirby Benedict

adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

---

re-established Dec. 27, 1880

1881 — Hon. William G. Ritch
1883 — Hon. L. Bradford Prince
1923 — Hon. Frank W. Clancy
1925 — Col. Ralph E. Twitchell
1926 — Paul A. F. Walter

OFFICERS FOR 1948-1949

Paul A. F. Walter, *President*
Pearce C. Rodey, *Vice-President*
Wayne L. Mauzy, *Corresponding Secretary*
Albert G. Ely, *Treasurer*
Miss Hester Jones, *Recording Secretary*

FELLOWS

Percy M. Baldwin
Ralph P. Bieber
Herbert O. Brayer
Fray Angelico Chavez
Rev. Stanley Crocchiola
Charles E. Dibble
Aurelio M. Espinosa
George P. Hammond
Frederick W. Hodge
J. Lloyd Mecham
Theodosius Meyer, O.F.M.
Frank D. Reeve
France V. Scholes
Alfred B. Thomas
Theodore Treuthlein
Paul A. F. Walter

R 13
Re

New Mexico Historical Review

Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

KAN
PU
AUG 4 1958

July, 1958

Editors

FRANK D. REEVE PAUL A. F. WALTER

Associates

PERCY M. BALDWIN GEORGE P. HAMMOND
FRANCE V. SCHOLES ELEANOR B. ADAMS
BRUCE T. ELLIS

VOL. XXXIII JULY, 1958 NO. 3

CONTENTS

Page

Adrian Woll: Frenchman in the Mexican Military Service
Joseph Milton Nance 177

Pecos Valley Pioneers
Francis G. Tracy, Sr. 187

Navaho-Spanish Wars 1680-1720
Frank D. Reeve 205

Notes and Documents 232

Book Reviews 252

THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. Frank D. Reeve, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXXIII JULY, 1958 NO. 3

ADRIAN WOLL: FRENCHMAN IN THE MEXICAN MILITARY SERVICE

By JOSEPH MILTON NANCE*

THIS is a biographical sketch of a rather prominent and influential "soldier of fortune" whose integrity, honesty, attention to duty, and gentlemanly conduct most Texans of the days of the Republic respected, even if they disliked the government he so often represented.

Adrían Woll was born a Frenchman on December 2, 1795, in St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, and educated for the military profession. He served under the First Empire as a lieutenant of a regiment of lancers of the imperial guard.[1] Since his regiment was composed largely of Poles, Woll has sometimes mistakenly been represented as being of Polish nationality. In 1815 he was captain adjutant major in the 10th Legion of the National Guard of the Seine.[2] Upon the restoration of the Bourbons in France, Woll went to New York, thence to Baltimore, Maryland, with letters of introduction to General Winfield Scott who befriended him and, no doubt, pointed out to him the wonderful opportunities offered by the revolutionary disturbances in Mexico to a young man of energy, skilled in the arts of a soldier. Woll was

* Department of History, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

1. *Diario del Gobierno* (Mexico City), Feb. 8, 1843, pp. 218-19.

2. Gustave Vapereau, *Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains Contenant Toutes les Personnes Notables de la France et des Pays Etrangers* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette, 1865, 3rd ed.), p. 1849; Miguel Angel Peral, *Diccionario Biográfico Mexicano* (Mexico, D. F.: Editorial P. A. C., n.d.), 870. Pictures of Woll may be found in Egon Corti, *Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico* (New York: A. Knopf, 1929), I, 150, 262; Vicente Riva Palacio, *México á través de los Siglos* (Mexico: Publicaciones Herrerias, c1939), V.

not slow in taking advantage of these opportunities, for on July 3, 1816, we find him commencing his Mexican military career at Baltimore as a lieutenant-colonel on the staff of General Francisco Xavier Mina to aid in the establishment of Mexican independence. With Mina he disembarked near the mouth of the Santander River on April 21, 1817, and assisted in taking possession of Soto la Marina three days later. Woll escaped Mina's fate in the revolutionary movement and thus began a half century of active participation in Mexican military and political affairs, adhering from first to last to the fortunes of General Santa Anna. After the achievement of Mexican independence, he continued in the army, became a naturalized citizen of Mexico, and married Lucinda Vautrey Griggi.[3]

Commissioned a colonel in the Mexican army in 1828, Woll served with distinction as an aide-de-camp to Santa Anna in the siege and capture of Tampico from the Spaniards in 1829. For bravery displayed on that occasion, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in 1832 and awarded the Cross of Tampico.[4] Along with several other officers, he was commissioned by Santa Anna to conduct and place in the hands of the Supreme Government at Mexico City the flag taken from the Spaniards. In the same year Woll took part in the *pronunciamiento* against President Anastasio Bustamante which brought General M. Gómez Pedraza to the presidency of the republic. From Guadalajara he was detached with a small, well organized force to proceed quickly to Colima, whose authorities had refused to aid the revolt. At Taxinastla

3. Averiguación sobre el contrabando de 30 bultos de muebles introducidos por Lucinda Vautrey Griggi y denunciado por Jesús María de Ibarra, administrador de rentas de Coahuila, 24 de agosto de 1841, Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Saltillo, exp. 86, leg. 39; Averiguación sobre el contrabando de 30 bultos de muebles introducidos para venderlos en la feria de Saltillo, por Lucinda Vautrey Griggi, mujer del general Adrían Woll, 24 de agosto de 1841, in *ibid.*, leg. 39, carp. 86. 1841. Vito Alessio Robles reports that Lucinda Vautrey Griggi was the "lover" of General Woll: Robles, *Coahuila y Texas, 1821-1848* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de La Nacion, 1946), II, 322. John Henry Brown, the Texas historian, reports that Woll's son was operating a hotel in Mexico City in 1869-70 when he (Brown) was in Mexico. Brown, *History of Texas from 1685 to 1892* (St. Louis: L. E. Daniell, c1893), II, 222n.

4. Heinrich August Pierer, *Universal-Lexikon der Gergangenheit und gegenwart oder Neuestes encyclopadisches worterbuch der wissenschaften, kunste und Gewerbe* (New York: L. W. Schmidt, 1865), XIX, 338.

Woll defeated Lieutenant Colonel Joaquín Solórzano and entered Colima on November 15, where he freed the prisoners and established in office persons loyal to the revolutionary movement before moving on to Morelia with his troops.[5]

Woll served as quartermaster general under Santa Anna during the latter's victorious campaign in 1835 against the Federalist uprising under the pure-blooded Indian Juan Álvarez in the south and Francisco García in the State of Zacatecas. As quartermaster of the army in the Texas campaign of 1836 he reached San Antonio de Béxar on March 8[6] and served under General Vicente Filísola, second in command of the army. Among the detachments sent out from San Antonio by Santa Anna after the fall of the Alamo was one of seven hundred and twenty-five men under Generals Ramírez y Sesma and Woll to pass through Gonzales to San Felipe de Austin and thence to Harrisburg and Anahuac. This force was composed of the battalions of Aldama, Matamoros, and Toluca, supported by two six-pounders and forty dragoons from the regiment of Dolores. These troops confronted the Texan army under General Sam Houston on the opposite bank of the Colorado at Beason's Ferry,[7] nearly opposite the site of the present town of Columbus. Arriving at the Atascosito Pass of the Colorado on April 5 and finding a part of Ramírez y Sesma's force already across but only one canoe available for crossing, Santa Anna ordered the regular battalion of Aldama, under the direction of General Woll, to construct rafts to facilitate the crossing of the remainder of the army under Filísola's supervision while he set out with the divisions under Ramírez y Sesma and Tolsa for San Felipe.

General Filísola made Woll his chief of staff on April 26. The next day, Erastus (Deaf) Smith reached Filísola's camp with despatches from President Santa Anna concerning the latter's capture at San Jacinto. On the following day (April 28) Woll was dispatched to the Texan army as an emissary

5. Peral, *Diccionario Biográfico Mexicano*, 870.
6. Robles, *Cohuila y Texas, 1821-1848*, II, 140.
7. Brown, *History of Texas*, II, 3.

under the pretext of learning the terms of the armistice, but actually for the purpose of gaining information on the strength, armament, and resources of the enemy.[8] He entered the Texan camp on April 30 under a flag of truce and conferred freely with the Mexican prisoners; but was retained because, as Santa Anna later reported, the Texans "feared he would disclose the strength of the conquerors," although the Texans tried to claim that he had been retained in order to protect his life from lawless persons.[9] After a brief period, the new commander-in-chief of the Texan army, General Thomas J. Rusk, ordered him transferred as a prisoner to Velasco, where he was eventually given a passport for his safe conduct, escorted to Goliad,[10] and permitted to return to Mexico. Woll rejoined the retreating Mexican army on June 12, the day that Filísola resigned his command to General Juan José Andrade, who served as *ad interim* commander of the troops until they could be placed under General José Urrea as ordered by the Mexican government. Woll claimed in 1842 that during the Texas campaign of 1836 he had convinced Santa Anna of the impropriety of the order to shoot Colonel James W. Fannin and his men, but the order had departed and could not be recalled.[11]

For several years after the Texas revolution, while Santa Anna lived in quiet seclusion in Mexico, Woll seems to have played a rather inconspicuous role in Mexican affairs. During the short-lived "Pastry War" with France in 1838-39, he sent his resignation as an officer in the Mexican army to General Santa Anna to avoid the necessity of fighting against

---

8. Robles, *Cohuila y Texas*, II, 165; Bancroft, H. H., *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), II, 244, 266-68.

9. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, *Manifesto Relative to His Operations in the Texas Campaign and His Capture*, translated by Carlos E. Castañeda in *The Mexican Side of The Texas Revolution* (Dallas: P. L. Turner, 1928), p. 85; W. C. Binkley (ed.), *Correspondence of the Texas Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936), II, 716-17.

10. Thomas J. Rusk to William Strickland, Head Quarters, Texian Army, May 28, 1836, in Binkley (ed.), *Correspondence of the Texan Revolution*, II, 716-17; David G. Burnet to Santa Anna, Velasco, May 20, 1836, in Guerra, Frac. 1, Leg. 1, Op. Mil. Texas, 1836-37, no. 6, Mexico. Secretaria de Guerra y de Marina. Archivo General (Transcripts, Archives Division, University of Texas Library).

11. E. W. Winkler (ed.), "The Bexar and Dawson Prisoners—Hutchinson's Diary," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XIII, 296.

his countrymen,[12] but the Government refused to accept it. Instead, he was permitted to retire from active service during the war. With the withdrawal of the French, Woll emerged in the struggle between the Centralists and the Federalists as an important supporter of the former and especially the Santa Anna group. Late in November 1840, Woll was in New Orleans to negotiate for military supplies and other items, some of which possibly became involved in a smuggling operation conducted by his wife at Saltillo.[13] He returned to Matamoros early in December on an American vessel and thereafter saw service on the northern frontier.

Upon General Mariano Arista's renunciation of the command of the Army of the North, General Isidro Reyes, who had served as second in command of that army since February 1842, was made commander-in-chief on May 28 of that year and assumed his command at Saltillo on June 2.[14] At the same time, Woll was appointed second in command of the Army of the North and Commandant General of the Department of Coahuila. Reyes' command included the departments of Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, and Coahuila. As commander of the Second Division of the northern army, Woll was ordered to capture San Antonio de Béxar, westernmost outpost of the Republic of Texas, and to make a reconnaissance to the Guadalupe River and down its west bank to the town of Gonzales. Under no condition was his raid into Texas to last more than a month. Woll's division completed its crossing of the Río Grande on August 30, 1842, and the next day began its march toward San Antonio by a new route above the old road from Presidio de Río Grande to San Antonio. San Antonio was captured on September 11 and evac-

12. *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), Feb. 13, 1839; *Diario del Gobierno* (Mexico City), Feb. 8, 1843, pp. 218-19.

13. James Campbell to David G. Burnet, Austin, Dec. 28, 1840, in Domestic Correspondence (Republic of Texas), Texas State Archives; James Love to Anson Jones, New Orleans, Nov. 30, 1840, in Anson Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence Relating to the Republic of Texas, Its History and Annexation* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859), pp. 156-57; Averiguación sobre el contrabando de 30 bultos de muebles introducidos para venderlos en la feria de Saltillo, por Lucinda Vautrey Griggi, mujer del general Adrían Woll, 24 de agosto de 1841, in Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Saltillo, leg. 39, carp. 86. 1841.

14. *El Cosmopolita* (Mexico City), June 25, 1842.

uated by Woll on the 20th after his repulse in the Battle of the Salado on the 18th.[15] For his Texas campaign, hailed as a success in Mexico and as a defeat in Texas, he was decorated by his government with a Cross of Honor and promoted to the rank of major general.[16]

When Reyes left his command early in February 1843 to appear before a court martial in Mexico City to answer charges of failure to prevent the Texans occupying and sacking Laredo and Guerrero the preceding December, Woll was made commander-in-chief of the Army of the North by Acting President Nicolás Bravo, having previously received that command *ad interim* at Guerrero from General Reyes on January 31, 1843.[17] Having on several previous occasions rejected the command, Woll now accepted it and served as commander-in-chief until a revolt led by José Joaquín Herrera and General Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga resulted in the northern army pronouncing for the revolution on December 6, 1844, and arresting Woll,[18] one of the staunchest supporters of the late government under Santa Anna. After a few months Woll was freed under a general amnesty decree of May 24, 1845.

While serving as commander of the northern frontier, Woll was designated by his government to represent it in treating with commissioners appointed by Texas to arrange the terms of an armistice for the negotiation of a permanent settlement of differences based upon the proposals made to

15. Woll's reports and journal of his campaign in Texas in 1842 were published at Monterrey under the title of *Expedicion hecha en Tejas por una parte de la 2.ª Division del Cuerpo de Egercito del Norte* (Monterrey: Impreso por Francisco Molina, 1842). For a translation of this work, see Joseph Milton Nance, "Brigadier General Adrían Woll's Report of His Expedition into Texas in 1842," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LVIII, 523-52. For additional information on Woll's capture of San Antonio, see *Diario del Gobierno*, Feb. 8 and 9, 1843; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), LXIII, 177-78; Emmanuel Henri D. Domenéch, *Histoire du Mexique* (Paris: Librairie internationale, 1868), II, 177-78.

16. *El Cosmopolita*, March 11, 1843; *Diario del Gobierno*, Feb. 8 and 9, May 14, 1843; *Niles' Weekly Register*, LXIII, 177-78.

17. Adrían Woll, General en gefe del ejército del Norte, ál Ministro de la guerra, Cuartel general en Ciudad Guerrero, Enero 31 de 1843, No. 38, in *Diario del Gobierno*, Feb. 17, 1843, p. 254; *see* also, *ibid.*, March 10, 1843, p. 340.

18. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, V, 276. General Mariano Arista was restored to the command of the northern army on December 6, 1844.

Santa Anna by James W. Robinson, who had been captured by General Woll at San Antonio and was at the time of making the proposals a prisoner at Perote Castle. After a conference with Santa Anna, Robinson was appointed a commissioner by the Mexican government to go to Texas to open negotiations. Houston proclaimed a truce on June 15, 1843, and in the Fall both governments selected commissioners to negotiate. They met at Salinas on the Río Grande, and on February 15, 1844, signed an armistice. Finding that the Texans were negotiating in Washington for annexation to the United States and that the Texan commissioners to Mexico had been instructed to conclude terms and conditions of a general armistice, rather than for a permanent peace based on the Robinson proposals, the Mexican government ordered the negotiations dropped; and on June 19, 1844, Woll sent Houston a formal declaration of war, stating that he had been directed by the President of Mexico to renew hostilities and that they had been resumed as of the 11th of the month.[19] Woll then ordered all communications with Texas to cease and announced a plan suggesting the most vindictive warfare.

During the war with the United States, Woll served in the Mexican army, but with Santa Anna's failure and enforced withdrawal from Mexico, he, too, left the country in 1847 and lived in Europe for a short period. In 1852 he left France for Havana, Cuba, preparatory to re-entering Mexico with Santa Anna, who had grown tired of living in New Granada. With the latter's return to Mexico on April 1, 1853, and his installation as President on April 20 with the support of a group of militarists and clerics, Woll was appointed a division general and served during 1853 and 1854 as governor and commandant general of the State of Tamaulipas.[20] His authority was soon extended over Nuevo Léon and Coahuila during the revolutionary disturbances, but the rebels almost

19. Adrían Woll to Sam Houston, June 19, 1844, in *Gaceta del Gobierno de Tamaulipas* (Victoria), July 3, 1844.

20. Richard A. Johnson, "The Mexican Revolution of Ayutla, 1854-1855" (Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Texas, 1938), pp. 90-91, 101.

forced him out. Santa Anna declared himself a dictator on December 16, 1853. The dictatorship, however, soon collapsed and the wily "Napoleon of the West" once more fled Mexico, in August 1855. Woll left too.

About three and a half years later, however, Woll returned to cast his lot with the conservative (Centralist) party under the leadership of President Miguel Miramón against the liberal element (Constitutionalists) under Benito Juárez. Along with several prominent reactionaries (Diaz de la Vega, Victor Blanco, and two sons of Santa Anna), Woll was landed by a British steamer at Mocambo on March 22, 1859, and from there repaired to Miramón's headquarters at Veragra. During the ensuing tragic, fanatical Guerra de la Reforma, Woll commanded a division of troops. He administered a severe defeat to one of the Liberal leaders, General S. Degollado, near Léon on August 30, 1859.[21] Woll occupied Zacatecas in November 1859 and in May of the following year defended Guadalajara[22] for General Félix Zuloaga, but the city would have fallen to the Juárez supporters if José L. Uraga, who was besieging it had not been seriously wounded in the thigh and taken prisoner in removing the last barricades.[23] The collapse of the Miramón government, December 24, 1860, and the success of Juárez in establishing himself in the presidency caused General Woll to seek safety abroad, fleeing by way of Matamoros to New Orleans and thence to France.

Later, in 1862, when the French government of Napoleon III declared war on the administration of Juárez, Woll returned to Mexico with the French troops, where, as a result of the influence of Juan N. Almonte, he was named commandant general of the State of Vera Cruz. In his efforts to persuade the French in Mexico to seize Matamoros, A. Supervièle, agent of the Southern Confederacy, held several inter-

21. E. M. Caldwell, "The War of 'La Reforma' in Mexico, 1858-1861" (Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Texas, 1935), p. 179.

22. *Ibid.*, 199.

23. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 3rd ed., 1849; Alberto M. Carreño, *Jefes del Ejercito Mexicano en 1847* (Mexico: Imprenta y Fototipia de la Secretaria de Fomento, 1914), pp. 114-16; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, V, 773, 781-82.

views with General Woll in March 1863 with an eye to the future, knowing that Woll stood high in French circles.[24] Woll served also as one of thirty-five members of the *Junta Superior de Gobierno*,[25] formed under French influence, to choose three citizens to act as the chief executive authority, pending the establishment of a permanent government. The *Junta* was to select two hundred and fifteen Mexican citizens to serve as an *Asamblea de Notables* to decide upon a definitive form of government for Mexico. The *Asamblea* was appointed on June 29, 1863, and jointly with the *Junta Superior* determined on July 10 upon the establishment of a monarchy. The executive of three men was now made into a *Regencia del Imperio Mexicano* until a sovereign could be installed.[26] Along with eleven others, Woll was appointed by the Regency a member of the Deputation to offer the Mexican imperial crown to Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria. He sailed from Vera Cruz on August 16, 1863, going by way of San Nazario for Trieste, Austria, which he reached early in October.[27] On October 3 the Mexican delegation, headed by José María Gutiérrez de Estrada, longtime leader of the monarchists in Mexico then in exile in Europe, offered the Mexican throne to Maximilian at his beautiful home, Miramar, near Trieste upon the shores of the Adriatic.

At Miramar Woll was requested by Maximilian to draw up a project of organization for the armed forces which the new emperor thought he might have occasion to form.[28] Maximilian officially accepted the crown of Mexico on April 10, 1864, and on the same day appointed a number of high officials, including Woll as adjutant general. Maximilian landed in Mexico on May 28, and Woll was taken into the inner circles of the Emperor as an approved warrior and an ex-

24. J. Fred Rippy, "Mexican Projects of the Confederates," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 305-06.

25. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, VI, 78n.4, 104n.7, 138.

26. *Ibid.*, VI, 46n.44, 78n.4, 87, 104n.7, 138; Corti, *Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico*, I, passim.

27. Percy F. Martin, *Maximilian in Mexico: The Story of the French Intervention, 1861-1867* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), p. 125.

28. Ferdinand Max to Napoleon III, Miramar, November 7, 1863, No. 28, in Corti, *Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico*, I, Appendix, pp. 391-92.

perienced soldier who knew the country and its outstanding personalities. He was named chief aide-de-camp[29] and promoted to commander in the French order of knighthood, the Legion of Honor. Maximilian, becoming displeased with Marshal Francois Achille Bazaine, addressed a letter in February 1865 to Napoleon demanding the Marshal's recall from Mexico. This ill-feeling later prompted Maximilian to dispatch General Woll upon a secret mission to Napoleon.[30] He remained in Europe, because a few months later (January 1866) Napoleon III commenced to withdraw the French troops from Mexico.

Having worn out his "welcome" in Mexico by aiding and abetting a foreign power to establish its political system over his adopted land, Woll never returned to Mexico but continued to live in his native land, where he died in February 1875 at Montauban, in southern France, just north of Toulouse.[31]

29. Martin, *Maximilian in Mexico*, 157; Bertita Harding (Señora B. Leonarz de Harding), *Phantom Crown: The Story of Maximilian and Carlota of Mexico* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., c1934), p. 120. The *Almanaque Imperial para el año de 1866* (México: Imp[renta] de J. M. Lara, 1866), p. 10, lists Woll as an Aide-de-Camp to Maximilian with the following honors: "Sr. General de Division D. Adrían Woll, Gran Oficial de la Orden Imperial de Guadalupe, Gran Cruz de la orden de San Gregorio Magno, Gran Cruz de la Orden Imperial de Francisco José de Austria, Comendador de la Orden Imperial de la Legion de Honor de Francia, Cruces de la primera época de la Independencia, de Tejas, de Tampico, en Europa."

30. Martin, *Maximilian in Mexico*, 282.

31. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 4th ed., II, p. lxviii.

PECOS VALLEY PIONEERS

By FRANCIS G. TRACY, SR.

I first heard of the Pecos Valley of New Mexico in 1887. At that time I had been farming since early in 1885 at Westbury Station, Long Island, near the east end of what was called the Hempstead plains, which belonged to the A. T. Stewart Estate, and 3½ miles east of Garden City founded by Stewart. The present Roosevelt Airport is situated just north and east of Garden City. The Meadow Brook Hunt Club where the international polo games are played is on these plains just a mile west of where I was farming, and I planted most of the Norway maples lining the driveways near the old club house. Elliott Roosevelt, a brother of the president, lived one year on the place while I was farming there and I knew him quite well.

My cousin, Joseph S. Stevens, spent several years at Colorado Springs for his health, just as he was coming to his manhood, and there he met the Eddy Brothers, operating the Eddy Bissell Cattle Company with ranches near Seven Rivers, New Mexico, and at Salida, Colorado. J. A. Eddy lived at Salida and C. B. Eddy, the younger brother, lived on the ranch in New Mexico, with headquarters first on the east side where the hills begin to close in on the Pecos below its junction with Seven Rivers, and afterward in the stone house on the present Guy Reed place in La Huerta. The Eddys came from northern New York and were old family acquaintances of Bissell, for many years president of the Chemical National Bank of New York, of which Stevens' father was a director for more than fifty years. At that time and for many years this was the strongest and most famous bank in the United States, with shares quoted at over $2,000 and none for sale. It occupied a measly little one story building on

1. Submitted for publication by Jane M. Gibbs, Publicity Chairman, Historical Committee, Carlsbad Museum Association, May, 1857, who wrote: "If I have my facts correct, Mr. Tracy, Sr. was the first president of the Water Users' Association, was the first experimenter with cotton as a practicable crop."

Broadway opposite the city hall and post office, across from Park Row, then the newspaper center of the New World. It has been content to remain ultra conservative and a close corporation, and the modern palaces of mass financial production have left it completely behind in the safe harbor of a peaceful and permanent prosperity.

It was through this connection that young Stevens and the Eddys came together, and soon became close friends. They visited each other frequently in Colorado. All three were bachelors, with no idea of marriage, were pretty good sports and while by no means dissipated were always ready for a good time.

It may be of interest here to describe the brothers who were of almost opposite types in every way. Both were short, broad shouldered and wiry. J. A. Eddy, the elder, was a decided blond, almost red-headed, deliberate, conservative, and cold blooded. C. B., as he was always called, was dark as the ace of spades, black hair, and piercing black eyes, nervous, high strung and impetuous, wtih a full resonant voice and impressive manner, and great personal magnetism, a typical promoter. He was always keyed up and on the go and drank quantities of black strong coffee at every meal.

In 1886, as his 21st birthday approached and with it considerable inherited funds, Stevens made his first trip to Halagueno ranch, already impressed by the Eddys with the wonderful possibilities of this undeveloped country, and with the imaginations of all three young men inflamed by the stirring reports of California's first great real estate and agricultural boom. Stevens came alone, hired a team at Pecos and drove off into the great unknown adventure with high hopes and great expectations. Between Pecos and Lookout, which was situated just north of Black River near the line of the first Pecos Irrigation and Investment Company's main canal, now abandoned by the government, Shaw Brothers, big sheep men, had a camp at Screw Bean, miles below the Delaware, and Stevens passed the first night there. The next day he made Lookout, just before dusk, and the then storekeeper agreed to let him sleep in the store. To his amusement he was evidently regarded as a suspicious character (why

not?) and as a condition precedent to being kept for the night, had to surrender for safe keeping the toy six shooter which he was rather proudly displaying as his only means of self defense. He assures me that he never has been able to decide which of the two occupants of that store passed the most restful night. In spite of what he felt was really a compliment to his personality, the thought of what might occur in case of a miss move by either party was far from conducive to his calm repose. However, both lived 'till morning and after a somewhat prolonged parting he made the rest of his way in safety to Halagueno ranch.

This was then the only habitation between the farming settlement on Black River and the farms along the Seven Rivers. All else was government land, then subject to several liberal forms of entry; the homestead of 160 acres maximum, free at the end of five years residence, except for a filed fee of $16, and commutable after 18 months upon payment of $1.25 per acre; the preemption entry of 160 acres, which could be purchased for $1.25 after 6 months residence; the timber culture of 160 acres, requiring similar filing fee and the planting and cultivation of ten acres of timber of any description for ten years; and the desert entry with a maximum of 640 acres, then requiring neither residence nor cultivation, nor sight of the land before filing, but that water for irrigation must be provided for and placed upon each forty acre tract within three years as viewed and sworn to by the applicant and two witnesses. Payment of 25 cents per acre was required at time of filing desert entry and of $1 additional at time of final proof.

Mr. Roberts has already told you how from this meeting developed the Pecos Valley Land and Ditch Company which built the first little diversion ditch, starting about three miles above the site of the present Avalon Dam, and brought water to the present La Huerta, the town of Eddy and lands as far south as Mrs. Ashcraft's and E. R. Poteet's valley lands for proving up purposes, a few homesteads and three timber cultures along the river. This company also bought and started developing the old Nash ditch, now the Valley Land Company's property operated by the Harrouns. It was in

connection with this lower development that I made my contact with the Pecos Valley.

The quickest, safest and in every way the most satisfactory way for corporation development was through the watering and purchase of desert land patents in 640 acre blocks. Joe Stevens came east and made the proposition to his father, an uncle, a close friend, John Adams, another cousin and to me, to file desert entries upon lands selected and described by him and upon final proof thereon to deed the lands to him and any party named by him. The consideration being that he would pay all expenses, including the necessary trip to New Mexico and return for the whole party who would take the junket all together. This was a wonderful opportunity for all of us, none of whom, except his father, had ever been west of Niagara and all of whom were considered permanent fixtures in New York. We accepted, of course, and filings were made before a U. S. Land Commissioner in the City Hall Building, with descriptions furnished upon "information and belief."

Three years later when proof was necessary in the summer and fall of 1889, the lands were not all ready at the one time and the party was divided. Stevens' father and I made the trip last, in November, coming out in November via St. Louis to Toyah and returning via El Paso, Las Cruces, Albuquerque, Kansas City and Chicago where we landed on Thanksgiving Day in a snow storm, after a most successful, instructive and enjoyable trip.

The Eddys nearly always went in and out via Toyah because of the railway hotel and eating house there, as the only trains passed through one on either side of midnight and the hotel at Pecos was a fright.

At the time of our arrival the third incorporation of the company had already occurred and James J. Hagerman and his associates had taken over everything.

G. W. (Boston) Witt, working for the Pecos Irrigation and Improvement Company, and superintendent of construction of the big wooden flume, where the concrete aqueduct now stands, met us at Toyah with a hack and four mules and

we started at break of day for the long drive to the Delaware. To me, at least, everything was new; even the air we breathed was different from any before experienced, and well do I remember the smell and taste of the dust in my nostrils and mouth that first and many other days during my early years in the valley—felt again every time I took a trip east and returned. I don't know if others have that experience or not. I only know it was most keen then and upon every return for several years and has now gone entirely for many years past.

Here to me was an entirely different world. The solitude, the silence, the immensity of space, the brightness of the sunshine, the limitless vision, the sense of freedom from all restraint, the immeasurable depth of the sky by day and by night, the apparent peace, permanence and immutability of the universe in the absence of man, and the insignificant and impermanent nature of his wavering trail along which the mules' feet pounded and the wheels droned with a monotonous muffled sound, raising a futile and wasteful cloud of dust, apparently the only destructive element in the whole vast panorama, all inevitably made a deep impression upon one whose whole previous contacts with the universe had been entirely with and through man and man's handicrafts.

And yet in the foreground there was no softness. The elementals of the picture were harsh, stern, resistant, repelling. There was a distinct challenge in the whole aspect as if nature said, "Here am I in elemental grandeur, permanent, all sufficient, and wholly self satisfied, and here are you an insignificant, feeble, transient parasite. What are you going to do about it?"

The peace and heat and silence of the day were all the more astounding as just ten days before we had read of a destructive blizzard sweeping down even across the Texas line, with two feet of snow and below zero temperature, freezing thousands of sheep and a score of herders, several even in the Pecos Valley; so that we, leaving New York at the latest possible date had wondered if we should be able to make the trip in time to protect our desert filings. Yet

here was not a trace of snow or surface moisture, and even the Guadalupes were not snow capped. The air was like the air of early June in New York.

At noon we ate at Shaw's camp at Screw Bean; so called from the solitary tree which bore a long thin bean, ridged like a screw. Perhaps our botanists can tell us its proper scientific name? Shaw told us of losses of over 500 sheep and two herders in the recent blizzard, and we began to appreciate even more clearly the challenge.

That night we stopped at the ranch house of H. S. Church, on the north bank of the Delaware, who had just begun the construction of the dam and ditch which now remains of what is called the Code ranch, although the original house and plant were a mile or more upstream from the present house and cultivated land.

There was quite a crowd there that night, cowpunchers and laborers, and everyone was coughing and sneezing or snoring, so that we remarked that the climate seemed to be conducive to colds in spite of its salubrious appearance. More challenge!

Church, who was a college graduate in mining engineering, and my uncle took to each other immediately and were soon in a deep discussion of the late Paris exposition, which my uncle had attended and which Church had read so much about that they seemed to be equally familiar with the exhibits.

This encounter made a deep impression upon Mr. Stevens, who referred several times to it later, and was pleased to hear from Mr. Eddy that he was trying to employ Church for the company.

We made an early start the next morning and arrived at Eddy's headquarters in La Huerta for a late lunch.

You must remember that at this time in this part of New Mexico there were neither pasture fences nor drift fences and, except for old Lookout and a few irrigated acres at Blue Springs and along Black River, there was then nothing south of the town of Eddy. Even Willow Lake did not exist, or come into being until many years later. The main canal was being constructed across Hackberry. The wooden flume was being

constructed and Avalon was only fairly begun. Bradbury and Company, the contractors, had their headquarters and commissary on half the block where the Current-Argus now operates. Pennebaker-Joyce had a frame building and the only store on the corner of Greene and Canon Streets, facing east. Bob Armstrong was their bookkeeper. The Company had a funny little frame building with three rooms, across Greene Street, South, which was used for their office and the postoffice, and C. H. McLenathen's real estate and insurance business.

The Eddy house was used as residence and hotel and operated by Mrs. B. A. Nymeyer. The original building, enlarged, still stands as part of Camp Bonito. B. A. was the first surveyor and engineer for the Eddys.

The town as a whole stood in thick mesquite brush, the home of a myriad of cotton tails, with only the streets grubbed and dragged smooth with a road scraper, the same machine being used to run V shaped ditches on both sides of the streets.

Charles W. Greene, then in Europe selling irrigation bonds, was already preparing to develop five section of land as soon as water was available, and to move his family from St. Louis. His son Charlie was acting postmaster for C. B. Eddy. The whole country around Eddy was torn up by the plow and scarred with the trails of construction teams, and as we came in that day we had a touch and a taste of a veritable sand storm. More challenge!

We were very tired and retired early, as we could spend only one night and had to make an early start to return next day. We stayed, of course, with Mr. Eddy, and about nine o'clock I stepped out of a side door to take a last look at the wonderful stars, and immediately dropped into an uncompleted pit for a cistern right along side the house. Fortunately loose boards had been thrown over it and I caught myself between the boards and the edge waist deep, and scrambled out without assistance, but with considerable exertion. I looked at my watch and afterwards at my accident policy, taken from the ticket agent at St. Louis, and found it had just expired by ten minutes. Another challenge! I took

it as an omen and decided to accept, subject to my uncle's approval.

Next morning we started for the Hagerman Farm, with E. G. Shields, then register of the Las Cruces Land Office, as conductor and guide to view our lands and make final proof on the way back to New York. Shields was as good a booster as Eddy and a very attractive fellow, quite a little older than the Eddys. By the time we had seen the work going on at Scoggin flat, under foremanship of Sam Hughes, and had seen the actual water in the ditches on our lands, we were both thoroughly sold to the proposition, and when we started back to Toyah that afternoon with Shields it was agreed that I should file a homestead entry at Las Cruces upon land selected by Shields, and would return within six months to throw in my lot with the new enterprise.

That night we camped out at sundown, wherever this might be, and through the night had our first introduction to the weird chorus of the coyotes, which seems always to me the voice of the wilderness cynically laughing at its presumptive invaders.

The next day we spent in El Paso and attended our first and last bull fight at Juarez—a thoroughly disgusting affair with little excitement and no risk for the men, but sickening butchery of the bulls and miserable crow bait horses. We stopped at the old Hotel Vendome, where the Hussman now stands, and where the menus started all meals but breakfast with "Cold Bullion in Cups," in an ambitious attempt to impart an international flavor to the food similar to that imbibed with the drinks, and imparted by the scenery viewed from "the only international street railway in the world," whose motive power was then a single dilapidated mule to each forlorn little street car.

A shabby, dirty, hopeless looking little nondescript town; but even then due to location full of promise as the future metropolis of the whole south west, between Fort Worth and San Diego, and still awaiting the long delayed industrial civilization of Mexico, before it can completely realize its birthright.

Las Cruces too was of great interest to us. Still almost

wholly Mexican, without modern improvements; but with massive adobe buildings, ancient jacals, fruit and shade trees, elevated acequias, built up by years of sedimentary deposits, and a general air of leisurely waiting for something to turn up, and no particular interest and certainly no visible eagerness that it should, —it seemed a fitting finale to this our first view of this slice of the land of sunshine, with its philosophy of poco tiempo and its dreams of mañana, in the ages long conflict between evolution and inertia.

So we returned from whence we came and to the final parting of all our ways, with much to think about and many plans to make; but fully determined to accept the desert's challenge and not to turn back.

Upon my return to Long Island the last of November, 1889, I began preparations for an early departure. This necessitated an auction of my dairy cattle, horses and farm implements. The only date open was during the last week in January. Advertising was profuse. New Mexico was as unknown and remote as the wilds of Africa, curiosity was aroused; the auction, the expenses and the crowds were large; but being too early in the winter, the receipts were obversely very small, it being clearly apparent that there could be no reservation. Years afterward I learned that this auction had made an indelible imprint upon the traditions of the countryside. On one of my trips to Washington I fell into conversation with a young college student returning to his home on Long Island, who occupied my upper berth, and he said he had often heard his father speak of conducting that "wonderful auction of yours."

The weather at the time of the auction was none too good and with several others I caught what was then called "the grip," the fore-runner of the flu, and I really think more appropriately named considering the tenacity of both of them. I was unable to start west until the end of January. I then took with me 100 degrees plus temperature, $163.00 cash above travelling expenses, and two black and tan collie dogs. Never having seen Washington and knowing not that I should ever return, I took the Baltimore and Ohio midnight train via Washington to St. Louis, stopping for the full day

in Washington, and filled with enthusiasm and quinine put in a strenuous twelve hours seeing as many as possible of the sights of that beautiful city.

In contrast to all the sordid materialism, overwhelming untidiness and poverty, standing back to back and cheek to jowl with tasteless exhibitions of the worship of wealth in all our great cities, no thoughtful American can fail to be moved, uplifted and inspired by the emphasis placed upon spiritual things in the broad vistas of parks, avenues and streets and the quiet simplicity and faultless taste of most of the public buildings and statues in our Capital City; so appropriately named and so appropriately culminating and centering in that outstanding monument of simplicity, emblematic of the enduring leadership of Washington and of the central ideal of the Republic, ever in all things united and upward:—The American Dream, as James Truslow Adams puts it.

Knowing there was no Sunday stage I landed in Pecos Monday at 2 A.M. The Pecos Hotel gave me a room just vacated by someone who had taken the 1:30 A.M. east. I got it just as he left it, including a fully loaded insect powder gun, thoughtfully placed in the full light of an unkempt and grimy kerosene lamp. Sleep was not too good although I finally concluded that my predecessor's campaign against the invaders had been fully effective. The morning was bitterly cold. The stage appeared at sunrise with one other passenger, who had arrived Saturday from El Paso, going to Eddy to teach piano playing. I certainly felt sorry for Miss Ida Woodward, for well I knew there were no pianos in Eddy nor likely to be for many, many months to come. Miss Woodward found temporary shelter with Mrs. Lucius Anderson and taught school for two years at Seven Rivers while waiting for those pianos. Like many others of the original settlers she was no quitter.

The stage blankets and Miss Woodward's wraps were very thin. Fortunately I was heavily clad and had brought besides a heavy travelling blanket in which we wrapped the lady. Of my two dogs Gypsy was content to ride, but Scamp ran all the way, and a good many miles further, trying to

herd every jackrabbit he saw. His instinct for herding was so strong that he never chased directly after anything, with one exception, but always tried to round it up. Both he and the rabbits had a lot of harmless fun until he was completely exhausted and terribly foot sore. I might say here that the one exception to the roundup was when he saw a man on horse back; he always caught the horse by the tail and swung in between the hind legs. This habit caused several exciting moments on Canon Street attended with mixed emotions. I do not know why he was not shot.

That night we stopped at the stage camp on the south bank of the Delaware, and I shared an uneasy cot with a villainous looking, heavily armed, loudly snoring individual, one-eyed and calling himself Captain Neville, whom I never saw or heard of afterwards, and with no regret. About the middle of the afternoon Tuesday we arrived at Eddy and I found that W. A. Hawkins, attorney for the various companies, to whose care Mr. Eddy had assigned me, unable to place me elsewhere, was taking me in to share his bed in the shack occupied jointly by him and Alonzo Luckey, the companies' auditor and bookkeeper. This two roomed box house stood on the east side of Canon Street about the south end of the present Ohnemus garage, conveniently located to the Courtney Building where J. B. Morris' office now stands, and to Pennebaker-Joyce's store where Weaver's garage now stands, and was a couple of lots north of the only chinese restaurant and laundry, which occupied adjacent buildings, and which were continually changing ownership with the weekly gambling fortunes of the respective owners.

Two days later I moved into Brown's lodging house just north of Pennebaker-Joyce's store. This was a long box house divided into eight compartments on a side, each with an outside entrance. The partitions reached neither the ceiling nor the floor. The acoustics were excellent. The house was nowhere silent unless completely vacant and then only because there was none to hear. Being entirely new it was perfectly clean except for the ever present dust which was nowhere excluded. The cots were made by Brown himself. They had neither springs nor mattress, but the foundation, nailed upon

the frame, was ordinary domestic of the most treacherous character. No sheets just quilts, or blankets if you furnished them yourself. Every squeak and every snore, to say nothing of the conversations, or soliloquies, which were frequent and emphatic, reverberated through the house. Don Gilchriest led a very mixed quartet every night near the northwest corner till exhaustion overcame the house. My room was on the south. The favorite melody was "The Old Oaken Bucket." Then slumber not silence reigned till dawn, except when somebody's domestic gave way.

One had only to make some sudden domestically unexpected start or turn, immediately began a sharp ripping sound, rapidly accelerating to the climax. There was no escape, for it always began at the head and usually only the victim remained unconscious till he struck the floor, shook the house and exploded in language, to a subdued chorus of chuckles. The moment was inopportune for too much exuberance. Life at Brown's was not fully tamed.

A description of the town at this time will be of interest. On the east side of Canon street beginning with the block north of the courthouse square, A. A. Hawkins' brick house was well under construction. It now belongs to Mrs. Irwin. Captain and Mrs. Mann's house, a two-roomed box construction affair, was the only building on the block east of the courthouse square, now the rear of the Bujac offices. There was a tent where the masonic building now stands. In the next block south there was nothing but a photographer's tent. Where the bank now stands was a brick livery stable built by the town company and operated by Garret and Brent. Behind this were wooden sheds, a feed lot and corrals running through to Main Street. The rest of that block was occupied by the camp headquarters of W. C. Bradbury and Company, contractors for the construction of the irrigation works. The Eddy House, on Main Street, still stands at the corner of Green as part of Camp Bonito. It was then run as a hotel by Mrs. B. A. Nymeyer. In the block south of Bradbury were Hawkins' and Luckey's shack, the restaurant and laundry. In the northeast corner of the last block in town, facing east on Main Street, was the adobe school house where

Miss Edith Ohl, afterwards Mrs. Thomas H. Blackmore, taught and where all divine services, by every denomination, were held throughout this year. There were no completed buildings on Canal Street.

At the south end of Canon Street were a few shacks, a meat market and a blacksmith shop. On the west side of the street south of the company office was the Argus building, one room. North of Brown's lodging house were several small brick buildings in course of construction, and a tent where the Corner Drug Store now stands. The Eddy Drug Store (Now McAdoo's) was going up and the Hotel Hagerman, first unit, in front, at the present Magnolia station, was well up into the second storey. It was generally understood that R. H. Pierce, the store keeper at Seven Rivers, would soon build the present Roberts-Dearborne store building; Edgar B. Bronson of El Paso, the present Smith block, R. W. Tansill the two storey store building, the corner part of the present Crawford Hotel; and the town company a two storey office and bank building now occupied by the Bureau of Reclamation. The noise of the hammer was heard all over town, and it is simply impossible to fix the exact time of construction except for a few of the most important buildings. Cottonwood posts for trees were pretty well set, 15 feet apart on the ditch lines on Main, Canal and Canon Streets and the two cross blocks between, but not a leaf or bud had yet appeared. The stage fare one way to or from Pecos was $10.00. Construction of the railroad did not begin until May. Water was not turned in to the main canal until October. The election for county officers and for county seat was set for November 7th.

I found H. S. Church and his wife living at Mrs. Eddy's while their brick house west of Halagueno Park, now known as the Osborne residence, was being constructed. Church was then surveyor for the Pecos Valley Town Co. and La Huerta Company in which Mr. J. S. Stevens and the Eddy Brothers had controlling interest. The immediate work in Eddy was continuing the planting of cottonwoods. At this I worked four days, one driving stakes for the posthole diggers and three lining them up. Then under E. G. Shields' direction I

was put in charge of planting 30 acres of orchard and vineyard in the river valley between where Hitchcock's house now stands and the hills along the north side of the school section. The ground had all been cleared and plowed, and the work was all hand work, building ditches and borders, using the Mexican check-border system, so as to completely fill each check with water to hold the sand from blowing. Using six to eight Mexicans this took me over two months. My salary was $75.00 per month. The sand storms that year were very severe, frequently filling ditches and covering borders and plants, for the whole surrounding area was plowed ground. The vines and trees came largely from France and were very tender after the long voyage. My planting was very fortunate, and with few replacements everything was alive and growing when I was sent to Roswell in the spring. Within a year everything was dead. Also a large nursery established by the company about where Hitchcock's west line is today, under the supervision of Henri Bole, a skilled French horticulturist, former gardener for Thomas B. Catron of Santa Fe and brought to Eddy for that purpose by E. G. Shields. The only water supply for this season was from the original small Halagueno ditch, which supplied water for a farm and trees at Mr. Eddy's place in La Huerta, crossed the river in a small wooden flume west of Rio Vista, and supplied the town trees and two forty acre farms, one operated by George Blankenship, the house located where Mr. O. O. Stewart now lives, the other by Ed Scoggin, which Mr. Woodard now owns. This ditch was flumed again across Dark Canon and continued on grade at the foot of the hills west of the river valley as far as E. R. Poteet's place, and in 1890 these lands were plowed up and more cultivation was undertaken than could possibly be sufficiently watered. As I said before the sandstorms were terrible that year. They not only obliterated the smaller ditches and borders, but they buried the nursery stock, destroyed leaves and even twigs and the smaller trees and plants and even erased the names on the labels. The Frenchman became nearly distracted and had to be sent back to Santa Fe. Of course I had never seen any such storms before, and very seldom since have I seen

any to equal those of our first few years of struggle to subdue the desert. A few examples are necessary to give a proper understanding of how nature fought not to be tamed.

One afternoon in the midst of a driving rain the upper porch roof and all the shingles from the main roof of the Hotel Hagerman were ripped off in a jiffey as far back as the ridge pole paralleling Canon street, and it took all the wagon sheets from all the stores in town to cover the opening and partly shed the water. A tremendous wind came up one night after sundown just as I went into the Chinaman's for supper. When I came out it was pitch dark and I could hardly keep my feet. The wind roared so the voice could not be heard at all, and the air was completely filled with sand and pebbles, making it difficult to breathe or to stand the punishment. I could not very well get lost, neither could I be sure of my directions or my footing. There was nothing to guide me but the cottonwood posts and the ditches, and both were invisible, and the former unsafe to touch as they were completely surrounded with ocotillo canes to guard against horses and cattle. No lights were visible except those close by at the Chinaman's. I stood a moment or two doubtful how to get and keep my bearings, when to my astonishment I saw here and there upon the tops of the cottonwoods an occasional ball of electric light just for an instant and then vanishing, not many nor lasting, but sufficiently bright and recurrent to mark the direction of the street and to guide me until I reached the lights of the buildings further up the street. I have never seen this again, but the favorable conditions were never repeated for me and the violent storm was a short one. I think the worst sand storm I ever experienced was Thanksgiving Day, 1894. I was coming down the Ruidoso after placing a mining camp at Eagle Creek with Phil Sillem, a man by the name of Duncan and my brother George. We began breakfast at sunup and so did the wind and before we could finish it was howling its best. As I was wearing spectacles and no one else could face it and see at all, I was deputed to drive the prairie schooner as we figured the team with the light rig would follow without guiding. I could not see beyond the horses' rumps nor the ruts further than their hind feet

reached. Before we had gone two miles all the wagon bows but the front one, which was braced by the wagon sheet tied to the front of the bed, were broken. There was no top to the spring wagon as we had left that in an accident in the mountains. My job was to keep the team moving if possible and by no means to pass the fork in the road which led to the Diamond A ranch where we hoped to find shelter. We made it about noon and joined the ranch force and a bunch of carpenters who were rebuilding the house which had been destroyed by fire, all of whom had taken refuge in the adobe stables. There we all lay until the sun and the wind both went down as they had come up together. Never was such a meal as was devoured by that hungry bunch that night in spite of grit and sand. This was a terrible wind throughout the valley, and among the very many freak results reported perhaps the strangest was the blowing of the whole three strands of wire from a fence belonging to Mans Satterwhite a few miles south of Hagerman. There were certainly winds in those days. And you who have been often told that there are never and can never be cyclones in this region and altitude, need not be too confident of this for on that very trip away up on the top of the Sacramentos, on the Mescalero Indian reservation, we saw where in a narrow strip a tornado had laid down all the trees in a dense forest for at least a half mile straight away. This I have never seen elsewhere, so it must be very rare, but still it can occur.

My first stay in Eddy was not very long, for in the spring I was sent with W. M. Reed to Roswell, in charge of the company's affairs there, with orders to report in Eddy once a month and to measure all the water supply of that region. All my work for the first two years was out of town, so that I am not well posted upon town affairs for the early days, except for occasional episodes.

C. H. McLenathen and Franklin G. Campbell, both born in northern New York, near where Sam Roberts originated, formed the first real estate firm the day I arrived. The former lived for the first 18 months on a homestead just below the canal on the south edge of Dark Canon, while Campbell built

his residence in the sand hills between Eddy's house and the river on the property now owned by Dr. Doepp. Bill Miller, an Englishman, was the town painter. Bob Armstrong was bookkeeper for Pennebaker-Joyce and Co., Charlie Greene was deputy postmaster for Charles B. Eddy. But Woods was chief tree planter.

In view of the outcome, it is interesting to note now on the front pages of the second volume of the Argus, repeated advertisements of the intention to irrigate 200,000 acres of land, and to remember that this expectation was the basis of all Mr. Hagerman's extensive financing. Colonel Nettleton, then State Engineer of Colorado, was Hagerman's consulting engineer and chief adviser. He was brought down here to measure the river and estimate its possibilities, and was always quoted as authority that the water supply was ample. Water rights were first sold for $7.50, water rental $1.00, and then $10.00 per acre, rental $1.25. This was for one acre foot of water per acre, which was then considered sufficient as a basis for crop requirements. But the main financing was to be upon the land, which was largely entered in full sections under the desert act and either bought outright by the company, at from ten to thirty dollars per acre, or in many instances an entry man would deed the rest of his section, 560 acres, for a paid up water right upon his pick of an eighty acre tract in the section. These lands with water rights sold very readily at $40.00 per acre and upwards.

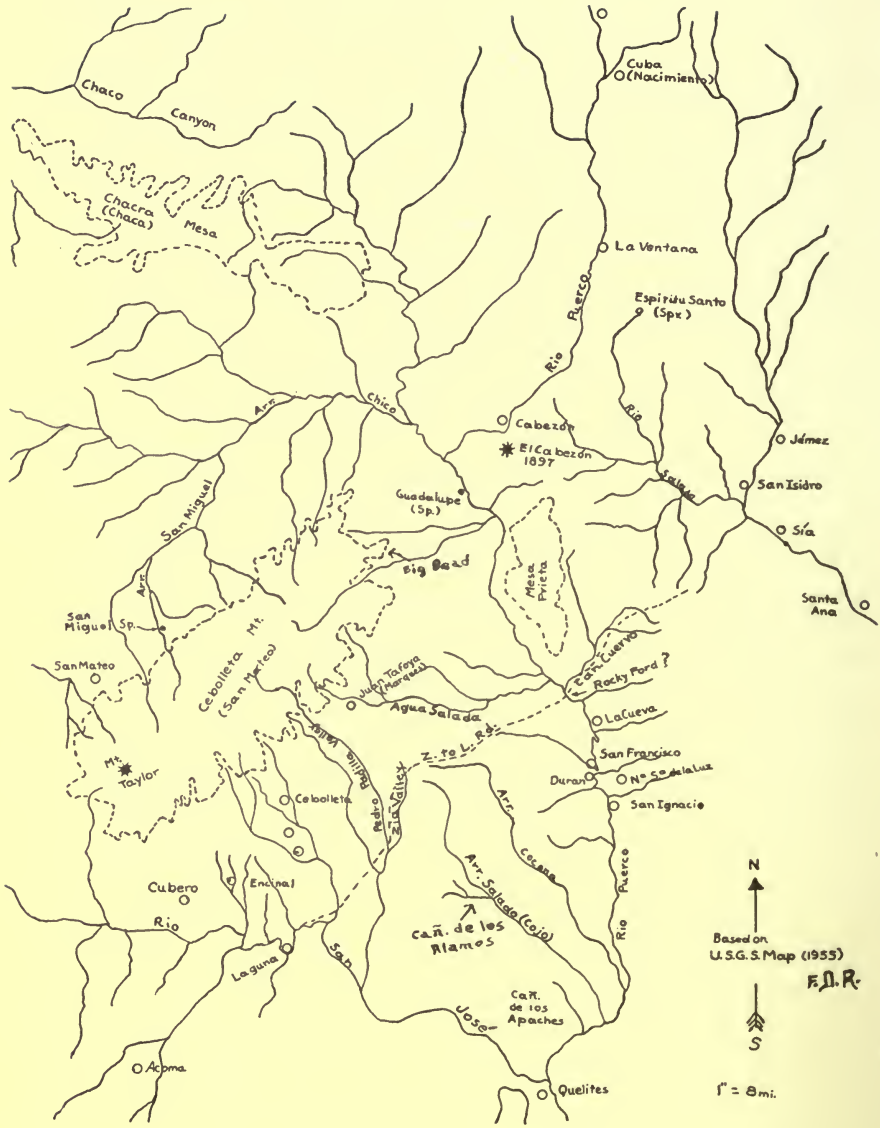
The Northern Canal, starting from the Hondo on the Garrett ranch, was expected to reclaim 100,000 acres, extending as far south as the water would last. The main canal at Eddy was to water 150,000 acres on the west side of the river, extending to the Texas line; and the east side canal was to cover 50,000 acres north of the present Harroun ranch. The company of Mr. Hagerman also bought that ditch and the lands from Stevens and the Eddys and renamed and incorporated it as the Hagerman Irrigation and Land Company. The money realized from this sale was reinvested in the Pecos Valley Town Company and used to develop Eddy, Otis, Vaud (now Loving) and Malaga. Nobody ever took any profits out

of the valley. The early birds got no worms. In those days there were none even in the entire length of all the newly constructed canals.

A little later, Mr. Hagerman acquired, for the Pecos Land and Water Company, options on the alternate sections of railway lands in Texas lying west of the Pecos from the Texas boundary south to the Texas and Pacific Railway at Pecos, built a dam in the Pecos near the state line and constructed a canal down to Pecos to cover them. Over $2,000,000 dollars were expended in the valley for irrigation works alone, not including land purchases and the building of the railway. An empire was visioned and optimism reigned supreme.

Meanwhile we little fellows spent all we made, investing our savings in town lots, and blindly riding the waves created by the big fish.

Nightly we gathered on the porch of Pennebaker-Joyce's store to swap experiences and lots, and to criticize and to prophesy, and lazily to watch Bill Miller climb to the roof of the Eddy House and put out the weekly fire around the flue at the ridge pole. This happened so regularly and so often, and the whole performance was so casual and leizurely that in my ignorance I concluded that our accumulating dust was a safe insurance against rapid conflagrations. This was indeed the age of innocence. The town was too busy even to be bad. The Lone Wolf on the hill toward Roswell was lone indeed. The gambling and saloon fraternity was not yet convinced this development was permanent. The county seat fight was yet to come.



NAVAHO-SPANISH FRONTIER
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NAVAHO-SPANISH WARS 1680-1720

By FRANK D. REEVE

A sufficient number of the Pueblo folk leagued together in 1680 to wage a successful War for Independence against their Spanish conquerors. For twelve years they were free to fight among themselves and to ward off the frontier foe as best they could. The extent of their difficulties is unknown due to the paucity of information about the internal affairs of New Mexico during this period. An occasional bit of news was received at Spanish headquarters in El Paso del Norte from Indian informants and a further vague insight was gained from feeble attempts at reconquest.

In 1683, a Pueblo Indian named Juan escaped from his Apache captors in the Plains country of eastern New Mexico. Arriving at El Paso, he gave a story of intra-Pueblo quarreling and of frontier people dabbling in their affairs. The Apaches of the Plains and the Utes were troublesome to the Pueblos, but other Apaches were friendly, especially those who visited the Pueblos of Sia, Santa Ana, and Jemez. On the basis of geographical location and the overall picture of Apache-Pueblo history, these visitors were Apaches from the western side of Puebloland; that is, they were Navahos from either Cebolleta Mountain or the Province of Navaho.[1] They

---

Abbreviations used in footnotes: A. C.—Edward E. Ayer Collection of Spanish Colonial documents; Newberry Library, Chicago; typewritten copies. A. G. I.—Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain). A. G. N.—Archivo General y Público de la Nación (Mexico). B. L.—Bancroft Library, University of California. B. N. M.—Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico. N. M. A.—New Mexico Archives, Coronado Library, University of New Mexico; enlarged microfilm copies of Spanish-Mexican archives at Santa Fe, N. M. F. L. O.—Federal Land Office records, Santa Fe, N. M. There is a microfilm copy in the Coronado Library.

1. Correspondence of Governor Domingo Gironza Petris de Cruzate, 1682-1684. A. G. N. *Provincias Internas 35*, Expediente 2, f36 (A. C.). A more detailed story of the period 1680-1692 can be found in Vina Walz, *History of the El Paso Area, 1680-1692*, ms., University of New Mexico, 1951.

Cebolleta Mountain, sometimes labeled on maps as San Mateo Mountain, is topped by Mt. Taylor. The Province of Navaho lay to the north in the southeastern drainage of the Rio San Juan. Frank D. Reeve, "Early Navaho Geography," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 31 (October 1956).

were not however peacefully inclined toward all the Pueblos, especially those in the Rio Arriba.

The freedom of Puebloland from Spanish rule lasted for twelve years. The end did not come overnight, despite an auspicious beginning. On the contrary, severe fighting was carried on for over two years by Governor Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de Leon (1691-1697). On his first entry into New Mexico (in 1692), he was happy over the willingness, although reluctant, of the people to accept the return of the Spanish, but underneath the surface were ominous signs that indicated a latent hostility; how severe only time could tell.

The involvement of the frontier folk in the resistance that developed toward Don Diego was early revealed. At Santa Fe, on September 14, the Governor was informed that the principal leader (Don Luís) of the Pueblos in the Santa Fe district, "wishes to inform me [Don Diego] that tomorrow he will come to see me; that he had gone to see the Navajo Apaches. . . ."[2] No specific reason is given by the informant for the trip to the Navahos, but it was more likely a political mission than one involving food supplies for Puebloland. The possibility that the trip implied a widespread alliance against the Spanish was revealed to Don Diego on his arrival at the Pueblo of Taos. The leaders there told him that a general council of Indians was held near Acoma with representatives from Zuñi, Jemez, Pecos, the Moqui, and Keres pueblos, the Faraon Apaches, the Coninas of the Cerro Colorado, "and many others from other parts. . . ." They planned to ambush the Spanish at some place along the way as the latter moved from Pueblo to Pueblo.[3]

2. J. Manuel Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692*, p. 98. The University of New Mexico Press, 1940 (Vol. X, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, George P. Hammond, General Editor). This is the campaign journal and correspondence of Vargas, August 1692 to April 1693. Excerpts from the journal have been published in *Old Santa Fe* (magazine), vol. 1 (January, April, 1914).

3. Taos, October 8, 1692. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

A contemporary Spanish journalist wrote that the Taos Indians advised De Vargas "that the Hemes, Queres, and Pecos, aided by the Apaches and the Indians of the Zuñi and Moqui provinces, had arranged to attack him from ambush when he was leaving the realm." Irving Albert Leonard, tr., *The Mercurio Volante of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora*, p. 72. Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1932.

When the Governor arrived at Jemes Pueblo two weeks later, he was received in a friendly fashion and invited into a house for a feast. "After this," he wrote, "I went out, and various Apaches came out from the said house and rendered obedience, and in the corridor I spoke to them, telling them that I would return next year . . . and that they should tell their tribe and ranchería that if they are not Christians I do not want their friendship, and that what I said was to their interest, and they said that they were happy. I assumed, since they had the said Apaches separated in the said house and many others in those of the second plaza, that the report given by the Taos concerning the aforementioned council was true."[4]

The mention of Faraon (Faraone) Apaches at the council clouds the picture of Navaho relations. Apaches under this particular name had contacts with Zuñi, but they lived to the southward of that Pueblo. Since the Indians had possession of the horse by this time, it was quite feasible for the Faraones to travel long distance with less difficulty, whether to participate in Pueblo politics or to plunder. However, the term Faraones also was applied to Apaches living on the east side of the Rio Grande, so it did not have a settled and specific meaning for a particular geographical group at this early date. In the course of time it acquired an eastern application and other names were coined for the western bands.

There is no important evidence that the east-side Apaches crossed the Pueblo region in the Rio Grande Valley in order to have relations with the folk in the Jemez Mountains, whether peaceful or otherwise. The Faraones south of Zuñi

4. Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas* . . . , p. 181.

Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, "Extracto de Noticias," B. N. M., legajo 3. A section of "Extracto de Noticias" is in A. G. N., *Historia 2*. It is published in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Tecero Serie, pp. 127-208. Mexico, 1856.

The authorship of "Extracto de Noticias" was established by J. Manuel Espinosa in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 22:422-25 (May, 1942). Fray Silvestre compiled his report about 1778.

"the Hemes who, obstinately persisting in their treachery, not only had many Apaches with them in their quarters but had sought aid from the Queres of Chief Malacate." Leonard, *The Mercurio Volante* . . . , p. 75.

ought to have had sufficient relations with the Pueblo people of that settlement and Acoma to minimize any desire to penetrate the more distant valley of the Jemez. It seems reasonable, therefore, that the Apaches found at Jemez by Governor Vargas were the Navaho.[5]

Continuing his journey from Jemez to Acoma, hoping for continued success in subjecting the Pueblos again, Governor Vargas met with further hints of the disturbing influence of the Navahos in the affairs of the former Spanish subjects. Sending a messenger in advance with a plea to the Acomas that they return to their old allegiance, Vargas received in reply the answer "that for the present they were very much afraid because they had stood alone, having as friends only the Navaho Apaches. . . ."[6] When the Governor finally arrived at the pueblo, Chief Mateo "remained timid and persistent in his doubts, saying that two Manso Indians and some Apaches had told him and his said people that . . . they should not believe me [De Vargas]. . . ."[7]

Proceeding from Acoma to Zuñi, further bits of information were received about the activity of Apaches as advisers to the Pueblo people. A Moqui Pueblo Indian who had been sent to his homeland by the Governor when at Jemez, reported through a second Indian that "the Navajo Apaches

5. Leonard, *Mercurio Volante . . .* , p. 75 note, is of the same opinion. L. B. Bloom states: "They [Jemez] felt that the return of the Spaniards would give them relief from their Tewa and Tano enemies and from the Apaches of various bands who were constantly descending upon them to kill those who went to their fields, and to rob and take captives." Bloom and L. B. Mitchell, "The Chapter Elections in 1672," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 13:100 (January, 1938).

6. Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas . . .* , p. 191.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

Writing nearly a century later about this episode, Fray Silvestre stated that "Their [Acoma] captain named Matheo indicated some inclination to be reduced, but said that the Navahos and some other apostate Indians had advised them that when the Spanish should come, they should not believe them. . . ." Escalante, *op. cit.* Encamped at Zuñi, Vargas reported in his journal that the Faraone Apaches stole 16 head of cattle. Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas . . .* , p. 200. Escalante just wrote "Apache." *op. cit.*

To further illustrate that there was some distinction between the various Apache groups, Vargas was visited at Zuñi by a group whom he termed the "Salineros Apaches"; "they had come to tell me that they had always entered this land and province of Zuñi on terms of peace," and they wanted peace with the Spaniards. Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas . . .* , p. 205. The name implies that these Indians lived south of Zuñi, hence they were kinsmen of the Faraones—if not actually the same band.

had informed and told them [the Moqui] not to believe me, that under the guise of the said assurance of peace they would all be killed," etc. Several days later two Moqui Indians visited the Governor in his encampment and "they told me that the Faraon Apaches had told them . . . that they should not believe me, for I was untrustworthy. . . ."[8]

Having completed a tour of Puebloland, Governor Vargas returned to El Paso, well pleased with his work. The following year he returned with a body of settlers to complete his task with permanent reoccupation of New Mexico. As he neared the heart of the Pueblo region, disquieting stories were brought by friendly Indians that trouble lay ahead and, as on his first expedition, frontier Indians were named as the trouble makers, including the Navahos. As the expedition moved northward from Sandia in November of 1693 (so Escalante wrote about 1778), the various Pueblo warriors and Apaches planned to stampede the horses—an excellent way of course to seriously weaken the military strength of the Spanish. The project was not carried out so they schemed again, this time planning to increase their strength by "union with the Navaho Apaches and plains Apaches."[9] The famous Luis Tapatú, a leader in the War of 1680, was the brains behind the plan, but again it failed to materialize.

En route between the Pueblos of San Felipe and Santo Domingo, an old Indian woman from Cochití warned Vargas that armed Pueblo warriors, with some *Navahos* and Rio Colorado Apaches, planned to attack him. But the two Indian Captains at Cochití accorded the Spanish a friendly reception, saying that "their only enemies were the Apaches of the mountains facing Socorro," far to the South. Moving northward, the expedition finally reached its goal, Santa Fe. Meanwhile, it had been reported that the Indian inhabitants of this site rejoiced (but not for long) : "Now that the Span-

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 211.

On his withdrawal from New Mexico in December, 1692, Vargas traveled a new route leading southeastward from Zuñi to present-day Socorro. The Zuñi Indian guide expressed the wish to return home by way of Acoma (a circuitous route to the north) in order to avoid enemy Apaches. This implies that the Navahos who lived to the north of the return route were less feared, or were considered friends to the Zuñi people. *Ibid.*, p. 245, December 8, 1692.

9. Escalante, *op. cit.*

iards had returned they could hunt deer and plant their crops without fear of the cruel Navahos, who just a week before had murdered a boy and stolen some horses."[10]

The first actual trouble that the Governor faced, despite all the rumors previously heard, was the necessity of taking Santa Fe by force, the Pueblo inhabitants having refused to move out on demand. Scarcely settled in their new homes, the Spanish received a report of pending trouble centering at Jemez. Bartholomé de Ojeda, Captain of the Pueblo of Sia, informed Vargas "that the Jémes and their neighbors the Navahos were about to join forces with the hostile Keres on the mesa of Cochití, in answer to the call of Captain Malacate."[11]

During the next two years, Governor Vargas was faced with the rebellious attitude of a large part of the Pueblo people. The resources of the Spanish were taxed to the utmost to bring them under control. The Apaches in general and sometimes in particular were mentioned as being allied with the Pueblos, or at least taking advantage of the situation to their own profit. The Navahos were mentioned specifically, and on other occasions it is a reasonable assumption that they were the ones involved when the term Apache was used. In March, 1694, when Vargas campaigned against the rebels entrenched on the mesa near the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, they were credited with having as allies some "Apaches of Navaho and those of the Rio Colorado."[12] That

10. J. Manuel Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande*, pp. 137, 140, 147. Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History, 1942. Espinosa relies heavily on Vargas' Journal of his second expedition.

Upon his return to El Paso early in 1693, Vargas recommended that a settlement be located near Santa Ana Pueblo "to close the way to the enemy Apache." And, he stated, the Jemez settlement was very important "because the Apaches make entry there . . . ." Vargas to Viceroy Conde de Galve, January 12, 1693. Espinosa, *The First Expedition of Vargas* . . . , p. 286. If the Apaches near Socorro operated as far north as Cochití Pueblo, a logical route lay by way of Santa Ana, that is, past the lower Jemez valley to the Rio Grande. The Navahos, of course, could use the same route.

11. Espinosa, *Crusaders* . . . , p. 163. Escalante has the same story: *op. cit.*, and in A. G. N., *Historia 2*, f21. Escalante repeats this bit of information, mentioning Acoma, Zuñi, Moqui, and Cojinnas, "and they had many allies from the whole Apacheria, according to what they themselves say. . . ." *op. cit.* The informant, Ojeda, is here referred to as Captain of *Santa Anna.*

12. Autos de Guerra 1694, A. G. N., *Historia 39*, exped. 1, f64, f61.

A short tributary of the Rio Grande north of Taos is named the Rio Colorado. The eastern flowing Canadian was named the Rio Colorado in New Mexico. These streams

same month, worried informants from the pro-Spanish Pueblos of Santa Ana, Sia, and San Felipe notified him that the rebels on the Mesa near the Pueblo of Cochití "and the Jemes with a large number of Apaches intended to capture their pueblos by assault." They requested aid, which was promptly granted and the rebels were punished.[13] In this instance the Apache allies of the Jemez were probably Navahos.

After a campaign to the north, and even beyond Taos Pueblo, Vargas moved southward again. At the Pueblo of Santo Domingo, in July, a courier arrived from Sia with a message from Governor Ojeda of Santa Ana (Sia?), "who reported an attack of the previous day on his pueblo by the combined forces of the Keres of Cochití, and the Navahos, in which four allied warriors were slain. The raiders withdrew only after one of their war captains had been killed."[14]

The climax of the reconquest of Puebloland was reached in the year 1696 when the rebellious people made their last concerted bid for independence. Nambe and Jemez provided the leadership. The Captain of Nambe was credited with having brought into the alliance the "Moquinos, Zuñis, Acomas, Apaches," and a substantial number of the Pueblos.[15] The involvement of the Navahos was apparent. The Nambe leader confessed under torture that the Pueblo folk "at Chimayo were awaiting news from the Apaches, who had left for their land to attend a dance; Navaho Apaches were eager to have all the Apaches and other tribes join in the revolt; and Acomas, Zuñi, Moquis, their Apache neighbors, and the Utes had decided definitely to join the war 'when the green maize is picked.' Then the Apaches first were to drive off the horses of the Spaniards, as preliminary to an assault on Santa Fé."[16]

---

were in the country of the Jicarilla Apache. The Jicarillas were probably the guilty ones. Escalante, *op. cit.* The other possibility were the Apaches toward the Little Rio Colorado of the West, but they were not usually located by using the name of that river.

13. Escalante, *op. cit.* In April, at Zuñi Pueblo, Vargas was informed that the Apaches were his enemies, including the Apaches Coconinas. Autos de Guerra 1694, *op. cit.*, f88.

The Utes also were hostile to the Spanish. *Ibid.*, and Escalante, *op. cit.*

14. Espinosa, *Crusaders . . . ,* p. 199, citing Vargas' Journal.

15. Escalante, *op. cit.*

16. Espinosa, *Crusaders . . . ,* p. 252, citing Vargas' Journal, June 12, 1696.

The interest of the Navahos reached even to Taos Pueblo during these dying days of Pueblo resistance. When the Captain of Taos finally yielded, he told Vargas "that the natives of Taos had been about to come down several days past, but a Navaho Apache had arrived with a message from the rebel Jémez telling them not to trust Vargas if they valued their lives, as a result of which the people had scattered throughout the mountains in fear."[17]

A portion of the Pueblo people never did yield to Spanish domination despite their final defeats in the year of 1696. The people of San Juan de los Caballeros, the first headquarters of Governor Oñate in 1598, abandoned their homes. Some of them located at "El Embudo de Cochiti" as early as the month of June. In distress for lack of supplies, "their governor had gone to visit the Navahos in an effort to obtain maize . . . ," so Governor Vargas reported.[18] People from the Pueblos of Cieneguilla, Santo Domingo and Cochití fled to Acoma. A majority of this group shortly located along the Rio Cubero, about fifteen miles north of Acoma, within a

17. *Ibid.*, p. 284, October 3-7, 1696.

Padre Juan Amando Niel records that the Navahos were accustomed to campaign with the Spanish against the Pawnees and the Jumanos in the 1690's. They returned from the Great Plains laden with captives and skins to trade at the Fairs in New Mexico. "Apuntamientos," *Historia 2*, exped. 3, f92. Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*. Tercero Serie, Mexico, 1856.

Padre Niel was a Jesuit missionary serving in Sonora and Sinaloa from 1697 to 1710. I consider his account of the Navahos unreliable, although it has been accepted by H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, San Francisco, 1888; A. B. Thomas, ed., *After Coronado: Spanish Explorations Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935; and Donald Emmet Worcester, *Early History of the Navaho Indians*, ms., University of California (Berkeley), 1947. Thomas surmises that Niel based his account on a ms. entitled Relacion Anónima de la Reconquista del Nuevo Mexico. B. N. M.

The "Navajo myths say nothing about hunting the bison, which, indeed, was an arduous matter in those horseless days." Ruth M. Underhill, *The Navajos*, p. 11. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

"The American buffalo . . . was occasionally used for food. Although many authors contend that buffalo traversed the present Navajo country, it is the opinion of the writer, along with others, that the buffalo never came west of the mountains, the Navajo journeying east of the mountains to find them. It is possible also that the Navajo never went on extensive buffalo hunts as did the Plains Indians, but preferred to trade for the meat, hides, and robes." Francis H. Elmore, "Food Animals of the Navaho," *El Palacio*, 44:149-154 (June, 1938).

A sketch of the northern frontier as of the close of the 17th century mentions the Moqui and Zuni, but not the Navaho. Respuesta fiscal dada en las dependencias del Reyno de el Parral su fecha 1 de Septiembre de 1698. A. G. I., *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, 67-4-11 (A. C.).

18. Espinosa, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

stone's throw (un tiro de pedrero) of a body of water which gave its name to the new Pueblo of Laguna, officially recognized by Gov. Cubero in 1699.[19] There they became close neighbors of the Navahos on Cebolleta Mountain. Other Pueblo folk from Jemez, San Juan, Santo Domingo, and Cochití selected a refuge either among the Acoma or Zuñi people, or remained in the Jemez Mountains; "others [fled] to the Apaches of Cebolleta" or to the eastern plains Apaches.[20]

With New Mexico once more under Spanish control, Governor Vargas was relieved of office by Pedro Rodríguez Cubero (1697-1703). Pueblo discontent still existed below the surface in some places, but missionaries were trying to carry on their work as in the years before 1680. One much-desired goal was the conversion of the Moqui people. The Governor visited them with an armed detachment in 1701 in an effort to achieve by force what could not be accomplished by fair words, but success also eluded him.

The following year information was received in Santa Fe that trouble was brewing at Zuñi. The source of information were some Navahos. Four of them, after a successful hunt, had traveled to Zuñi to trade their meat for other commodities. They learned that the Zuñi folk were planning to kill the resident soldiers, stationed there to protect the missionary, and three other Spanish residents. The Navaho Captain, probably of the Cebolleta Mountain group, sent a courier to the Pueblo of Sia with the information. He in turn was sent on to Santa Fe to report directly to the Governor

19. The Acoma people and these migrants made peace with the Spanish in 1699. Governor Cubero named the new settlement of the migrants San José de la Laguna. Escalante, *op. cit.*

Vargas looked forward to conquering Acoma and "capture the enemy Jémez, Tano, and Santo Domingo Indians living there, and settle them at Sandía, and force Ácoma to break its bonds of friendship with the hostile Faraone, Salinero, Sierra de Gila, and Chilmo Apaches." Espinosa, *Crusaders . . . ,* p. 297. This statement strengthens the belief that the Apaches living southward from Acoma and Zuñi were not the Navahos who lived to the northward.

20. Escalante, *op. cit.* When Vargas returned to El Paso in December, 1692, by a southwestern route from Zuñi, he arrived at a place near the Socorro region which he named the Cienega de la Cañada de la Cebolleta. But this would hardly be a place for the refugee Pueblo folk. The Apache folk who molested Vargas in that neighborhood were no doubt wanderers from the Sacramento Mountains or the Gila River country. *Ibid.* And Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas,* p. 250.

who subjected him to an examination by Roque de Madrid, Alcalde Mayor.[21] The Governor made a rapid tour of the Rio Grande Valley Pueblos. He found that some refugee Teguas from Moqui had been visiting their home sites, trying to stir up trouble for the Spanish. A letter from Fray Garaicoechea at Zuñi did not report any trouble, so Cubero judged that the Navaho story was a false alarm. But he was in error. The situation was more serious than he realized.

In March of 1703, some Zuñi gave way to their feelings of hatred at the bad treatment received from the resident Spanish and probably killed part of them. The possibility of trouble also at Laguna brought the Governor of Sia in a hurry to protect the missionary there. The Acoma folk wanted to send an armed force to Zuñi, but the information had led Fray Antonio Miranda, their resident missionary, to forbid such action. Governor Cubero finally sent a detachment of soldiers under command of Roque de Madrid to find Fray Garaicoechea, if still alive, and bring him away from the danger spot. The Zuñi were then left without a Pastor, "exposed to the diabolical influences of sedicious elements, the apostate rebels of Moqui and the pagan Apaches of Navaho."[22]

Meanwhile, Governor Cubero had decided in the summer of 1702 to launch a campaign against the Navahos. Presumably therefore they had been troublesome as usual for a number of years. He was led to call off any punitive action when a Navaho Captain went to the Pueblo of Taos to seek peace. The governor then turned his attention to the Faraone Apaches east of the Rio Grande, but did not complete his project, leaving it to his successor, Governor Vargas, who was reappointed to office in 1703.[23]

It seems surprising that Navahos could be warning the Spanish against Pueblo intrigues while at the same time the Governor of New Mexico was thinking in terms of punishing

21. Fr. Agustin de Colina to Fr. Custos, Zia Pueblo, February 25, 1702. Cubero, *Auto*, Santa Fe, February 25, 1702; and (author not given) March 2, 1702: all in *New Mexico Originals*, PE 6 (B. L.); Escalante, *op. cit.* A microfilm of the *New Mexico Originals* is in the library, University of New Mexico.

22. Escalante, *op. cit.* Fr. Antonio Miranda to Cubero, Laguna, March 12, 1703, *ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

them for their own misdeeds. The answer lies in the fact that the Navahos were not a united people in the white man's notion of society. Consequently their left hand did not necessarily know what the right hand was doing. The Navahos in the northern Province could be troublesome while their kinsmen to the south, living close to the Pueblos of Acoma, Laguna, and Zuñi, could be on friendly terms with them and the Spanish. Even a small group from either locality could engage in mischief despite the contentment of the others. This dichotomy in Navaho behavior becomes clearer as their history unfolds in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[24]

Governor Vargas took possession of the governorship for the second time on November 10, 1703.[25] In February of 1704, some Indians from Moqui appeared among the Taos folk to bring them into a general uprising against the Spanish. Moquino agents had earlier been at work in the Pueblos of San Ildefonso and San Juan. Representatives from these Pueblos had met with Moquinos heretofore, "and with Navahos in a general meeting held for this purpose in the Valley of the Piedra Alumbre."[26] The Governor was soon engaged, however, in a campaign against the Faraones east of the Rio Grande. He died at Bernalillo in April and the problem of Pueblo intrigues with the Navahos was left for his successor, Governor Francisco Cuervo y Valdés (1705-1707), who took office on March 10, 1705.[27]

The new incumbent of the governor's office had arrived when the province was in a sad condition from the military point of view. He found "the presidial soldiers of this villa [Santa Fe] without arms or horses, ill-clothed and without supplies, the settlers suffering from hunger and lack of clothing . . ." etc.[28] The situation was attributed to the

24. Studies of the present-day Navaho imply a history of political organization for cooperation, but the leadership quality varied among them, and was often amorphous. Esther S. Goldfrank, "Irrigation Agriculture and Navaho Community Leadership: case material on environment and culture." *American Anthropologist*, 47:273 (New series).

25. Escalante, *op. cit.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Cuervo to Duke of Albuquerque, May 7, 1705. A. G. N., *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 5, f483.

The modern spelling for Albuquerque has been adopted by dropping the first "r".

depredations of the Indians, the wear and tear of military operations on both men and horses, and the severity of the winter climate on the overworked animals.

The Governor did not exaggerate the state of affairs, unless there was a widespread conspiracy to paint a black picture for ulterior reasons; but there is no valid reason for holding such a view. Petitions drawn by the presidial soldiers, settlers, and members of the Santa Fe Cabildo all carried the same story of distress. And Fray Juan Alvares, Custodian of the Missions, employed his pen to buttress the civilian plea for aid from the central government.[29]

Cuervo was a man of action, interested in the welfare of the settlers as well as the missionaries. Within fifteen days of assuming office, he had issued a hundredweight of powder and a supply of lead to Captain Roque de Madrid and had "sent a company of soldiers in pursuit of two large bands of enemies from the rancherias of Navaho who had stolen some beasts and cattle from the towns of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Juan."[30] During April and May, he distributed powder and lead to the settlers at different points in the province, outfitted the soldiers and stationed them in scattered detachments at frontier outposts, and no doubt relieved the wants of the people in general with a drove of five hundred animals that he had purchased in the southern provinces of Viscaya and Galicia.[31]

---

29. The details are scattered through the various documents in A. G. N., *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 5.

30. Statement of Captain Alphonso Rael de Aguilar, Santa Fe, January 10, 1706. A. G. N., *Prov. Intern.* 36, exped. 5, f473v. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3:367. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937, translates this passage with the phrase "Navajo rancherias," but I prefer to write it "rancherias of Navaho" because the expression has a definite geographical connotation, and identifies the raiders as coming from the Province of Navaho on the watershed of the Rio San Juan rather than from Cebolleta Mountain, and it is reasonable to assume that the Province was the jumping off place for raids in the Santa Fe area of the Rio Grande Valley due to geographical nearness.

The statement about munitions is in Roque Madrid, Santa Fe, August 23, 1705. A. G. N., *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 5, f381.

31. *Ibid.*, f380, 485. Escalante, *op. cit.*

The Muster Roll of the Presidio at Santa Fe, taken on April 20, 1705, reveals the sad condition of the military. A. G. N., *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 5, f501.

In 1698, fifty yoke of oxen and 200 firearms had been distributed by Governor Cubero among the residents of New Mexico, illustrating how dependent the province was on outside aid for many years after the reconquest. *Ibid.*, f389.

In June, the Governor was ready for a major offensive against the frontier enemy. He first struck the Gila Apaches of southwestern New Mexico and then, in August and September, turned his forces against the Navahos, a troublesome people "as is seen from the continuous wars that they have carried on from the conquest of this kingdom [1598] until the general uprising of the year 1680, and which they have continued from the year 1693 until 1705."[32] These Indians "live from the said frontier [Piedra Lumbre] up to the banks and fields of the said Grand River [Rio San Juan]. Maintaining themselves by their own labor, they cultivate the land with much care. They sow corn, beans, squash, and all sorts of seeds and grains [except barley and wheat], such as chile and other plants [cosas] that they have found in the settlements of the Christian Indians of this kingdom; this not being a new practice among the said Apaches, since when they became settled they have practiced the same. They make their blankets of wool and cotton; the one they sow and the other they secure from the flocks of sheep that they raise."[33]

Crossing the Rio Grande of central New Mexico, near its junction with the Rio Taos, Captain Roque Madrid led his force westward by way of *Piedra del Carnero*, Copper Mountain (or Sierra del Cobre), Rio Chama, and *Arroyo Belduque* into the Province of Navaho. Some of these geographical names are no longer familiar, but his route lay through the mountainous country north of the valley of the Rio Chama. He picked up the trail later known as the Old Spanish Trail at or just before reaching the crossing of the upper Rio Chama, the El Vado of today.[34]

Another force had moved northward from Santa Fe to join Captain Madrid. Antonio de Ulibarri, a resident, Alcalde Mayor and War Captain of Santa Fe, recalled that the

---

Governor Cubero's request for thirty presidials from the southern presidios for temporary duty against the frontier Indians was denied by the Viceroy. The Governor also had in mind the conquest of the Moqui. *Ibid.*, f480 and Escalante, *op. cit.*

32. Cuervo to the Duke of Albuquerque, Santa Fe, June 23, 1706. A. G. N., *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 5, f403.

33. *Ibid.* A similar description of the Navahos is to be found in Escalante, *op. cit.* It is doubtful that they grew cotton.

34. *Ibid.* Escalante dates this campaign in July, but it was in August. Cf. Fray Juan de Tagle, Santa Fe, October 17, 1705. *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 5, f491.

"entry to the said province [of Navaho] was by way of the Pueblo of San Lorenzo of Pecuries . . . which is eighteen leagues from this villa of Santa Fe. They penetrated the [Province]as far as the place that they call the Rocky Hills (los Peñoles) . . . which appeared to him to be in the center of the Province, distant from the Pueblo [Pecuries] through which they entered about forty leagues from east to west. . . . The land [Navaho] is all mesas and canyons with sandy and soft (*floxas*) bottoms. . . . Up to the said place of the Rocky Hills he saw about two hundred Indians, and there is no doubt that they have their houses of stone and wood on the tops of the mesas, and there were many."[35]

The conviction of the witness about the location of the Navaho homes has been sustained by present-day investigation. "Here on the mesas and in the canyons of the upper drainages of the Blanco and Largo washes, he [Farmer] found twenty-nine sites, including small hogan groups, fortified buttes, camp sites, and circular watch towers."[35a]

Arriving in the heart of the Province of Navaho, Captain Madrid worked with a will to teach these troublesome neighbors a lesson. "He lay waste the fields; in three encounters killed forty to fifty of them, and seized some women, among whom was an apostate Indian woman from the Pueblo of Jemes."[36] In the face of this assault, the Navahos retreated to *los Peñoles*, or rocky hills, two days journey to the south.

35. Sarjento Maiôr Don Joachin Códallos y Rabal Gobernador y Capitan General de la Nueva Mexico, Testimonio â la letra de los Auttos que originales se remiter al superior Gobierno del Exmo Señor Conde de Fuenclara . . . Sobre la Reducion de los Yndios gentiles de la Provincia de Navajo al gremio de Nuestra Santta Madre yglecia. Febrero 26, 1745. *New Mexico Originals*, PE 24 (B. L.). Hereafter referred to as Códallos y Rabal, "Testimonio." A part of this ms. has been translated with some errors and published in W. W. Hill, *Some Navaho Culture Changes during two Centuries.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1940. Reprinted from Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection, vol. 100 (Whole number). See also Cabildo of Santa Fe, "Statement," October 13, 1705. A. G. N., *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 5, f493; and Fray Juan de Tagle, *op. cit.*

35a. D. L. Keur, "Big Bead Mesa, An Archeological Study of Navaho Aculturation, 1745-1812." *American Antiquity*, Vol. 7, no. 2, pt. 2, p. 16 (October, 1941. Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. 1). Miss Keur cites a ms. by Malcolm Farmer. Alfred V. Kidder, "Ruins of the Historic period in the upper San Juan Valley, New Mexico," *American Anthropologist*, 22:327f. Malcolm F. Farmer, "Navaho Archeology of Upper Blanco and Largo Canyons, Northern New Mexico," *American Antiquity*, 8:65-79 (July, 1942).

36. Escalante, *op. cit.* Fray Juan de Tagle, *op. cit.*

This hoped-for security was the north end of Cebolleta Mountain, an excellent place to repel invaders.

The Arroyo Chico bends around the north end of Cebolleta Mountain from west to east. It then turns towards the southeast and joins the Rio Puerco. The prominent landmark known as Cabezon Peak rises close by, east of the Arroyo Chico and south of the Rio Puerco. About four miles south of the junction point lies the present-day village of Guadalupe, and penetrating Cebolleta Mountain to the west is a canyon of the same name; one of those "deep-watered canyons that extend back into the high lava-covered mesas" lined with alders, boxelders, and oaks."[37]

In the days of Roque Madrid, this region was comparatively well-watered. Today the channel of the Rio Puerco is deep and wide from erosion, and the land has been abandoned in large part by the early settlers, their vacant homes standing in mute testimony to the wrath of nature when provoked by the ignorance of man. But within the memory of living men water flowed in the shallow channel of the Rio Puerco, marked by "pools of water which old settlers called *lagunitas*, a name perpetuated in the Lagunitas [land] grant."[38] In the days when New Mexico was first colonized the Rio Puerco was referred to as the "Torrente de los Alamos,"[39] implying a stream with abundant water lined with cottonwoods, and probably other types of stream-bank shrubbery and trees.

Although there are a goodly number of mesas between the

---

37. C. B. Hunt, *The Mount Taylor Coal Field*, p. 37. United States Geological Survey, Bulletin 860-B. 1936. "Deep and wide barrancas or bays have eroded into the mesa, and they are now inclosed by walls more than 1,000 feet high." *Ibid.*, p. 177.

38. Kirk Bryan, "Historic Evidence on Changes in the Channel of the Rio Puerco . . . " *The Journal of Geology*, 36:278 (April-May, 1928).

"Mr. R. T. Heller reports that when he came to Cabezon, in 1889, the Rio Puerco flowed in a trench only about 5 feet wide, across which there was a bridge." B. C. Renick, *Geology and Ground-water resources of western Sandoval County, New Mexico*," p. 64f. United States Geological Survey, Water Supply Paper 620. Washington, 1931.

39. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico 1595-1628*, p. 327. The University of New Mexico Press, 1953. 2 vols. ("Record of the Marches by the Army, New Spain to New Mexico, 1596-98," in Vol. 5, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, George P. Hammond, General Editor).

When Governor Vargas was enroute to Zuñi in 1692, he recorded his experience with the Rio Puerco: "Since the crossing is deep, it was necessary to carry the supply of provisions on our shoulders." Espinosa, *First Expedition* . . . , p. 186.

Province of Navaho and Cebolleta Mountain to the south, none of them afforded the security necessary when pursued by mounted soldiers in the service of His Majesty. The mesas along the continental divide between these two geographical areas have a regional northward dip, scarcely three degrees and usually less.[40] But the lava-topped Cebolleta Mountain was defended against intruders by a steep escarpment on all sides. With the aid of man in erecting some artificial defense barriers, it was a stronghold worthy of the prowess of any fighter who sought to scale the heights in the face of flying arrows and stones. Even Roque Madrid failed this test, although he did lead his force south in pursuit of the foe despite the rigors of the season.

In the month of August the land that the Spanish crossed was dry and hot. When the troops reached the stronghold of the Navahos they were in bad shape, a condition well described by Antonio Albarez Castrillon:

pursuing my course to the rocky hills [los Peñoles], striking the enemy and laying waste the fields, I found the Indians [Pueblo auxiliaries] killing an old woman. I stopped them. She promptly asked for baptism with much fervor. She was baptized and then they killed her. Another one was captured with her daughter. I continued with my assaults until reaching the rocky hills. There I found the Apaches up above. I and all my companions experienced considerable affliction and grief at seeing the horses so weak and unsteady from thirst, and without remedy for their distress, as to be unable to punish the enemy, who made a great mockery of us, yelling from the top of the hills upon seeing the manner in which our horses moved among the rocks, smelling and neighing. It seemed that they [the horses] understood and cried out to God for water. In the midst of this affliction, our chaplain, Fray Francisco Jimenez (vice-custodian) cried to the heavens, begging for relief, and I joined him and all the others. Our outcry reached the heavens; a small cloud appeared but rained only a trifle, since our cloaks were not even dampened. A moment later, Mathew Trugillo, Corporal of the Squadron, commenced to shout that the horses should go down to the water in an arroyo which shortly before we had crossed dry, and was now

40. Hunt, *op. cit.*, and Renick, *op. cit.*

"If we stand upon the eastern brink of the Mount Taylor [Cebolleta Mt.] mesa we shall overlook the broad valley of the Puerco (East). . . . The edge of the mesa suddenly descends by a succession of ledges and slopes nearly 2,000 feet into the rugged and highly diversified valley-plain below." Captain Clarence E. Dutton, "Mt. Taylor and the Zuñi Plateau," p. 166. Geological Survey, *Sixth Annual Report.* Washington, 1885.

flooded. We praised God, thanking Him for this miracle. He sent us water in such abundance that all these fields became lakes, the water lasting for more than an hour and a half, not permitting us to cross [the arroyo]. During this interval the troop was laying waste the corn fields.[41]

The chronicler had described a familiar phenomenon of the semi-arid Southwest in the summer time, a flash flood in a usually dry arroyo.

The mesa is roughly and irregularly crescentic in form and extends one and one-fifth miles from one end around the back of the crescent to the other. The area of maximum breadth occurs in the extreme southwest, where the mesa is well over one third of a mile across. It is narrowest at the neck of the northeastern spur. At one strategic place, measuring only 26 feet (7.92) across, the inhabitants had erected their most elaborate structure of defense, in the form of a sturdy, high wall.[41a]

It is set apart from the Cebolleta Mountain by a dip, and the area around it is rough and irregular with several minor arroyos.

The mission accomplished, but not to the entire satisfaction of the Governor, Captain Madrid led his force home by way of Sia Pueblo,[42] arriving at this frontier site on the 19th. In the face of this raid, the Navahos indicated that they wanted peace, but it was not granted at the moment.

Again in September the Spanish launched a punitive expedition against the Province of Navaho. A participant in the undertaking, Anttonio Tafoia, recollected many years later that they entered the Navaho country "by way of the mountain which they call Las Grullas [Cranes], thirty leagues to the northwest of this villa [Santa Fe]; they pene-

41. Castrillon's "Diary," quoted in Escalante, *op. cit.* He was Secretario de Governación y Guerra and a participant in the campaign.

41a. D. L. Keur, "Big Bead Mesa . . ." *American Antiquity*, vol. 7, no. 2, pt. 2 (October, 1941. Memoirs of the Society For American Archaeology, no. 1).

Dendrochronology dates these ruins for the second quarter of the eighteenth century. *Ibid.* The Navaho were located there much earlier.

Aerial inspection was made possible by courtesy of the Army Air Force, Special Weapons Center, Kirtland Field, Albuquerque. (F. D. R.)

42. Antonio Ulibarri's testimony in Códallos y Rabal, "Testimonio". Escalante, *op. cit.*

The progress and results of these two campaigns are not clearly distinguished among the various recorders of the events. Ulibarri stated that they seized about fifty head of sheep.

trated the country eighteen leagues more or less; . . . and ran upon some ranchos on the summits of the mesas. He saw at different times on the summits about five hundred Indians. . . . The Christian Indians of this Kingdom [New Mexico] who were on the expedition killed one Indian. The Navahos fled for the mountains. Consequently the whole expedition returned to this villa by way of the place that they call the Pedernal Mountain, close by the Spanish settlement of Abiquiu, about two leagues distant from the said place."[43]

The Spanish gained more than a better geographical understanding of the Province of Navaho as a result of this foray. They left destruction in their path, having burned corn fields and destroyed huts of the Navaho people. They brought home an assortment of spoils of war: captive women and children, skins, baskets, and some horses and sheep; and they also restored to their former homes certain Pueblo Indians, some of whom had been taken captive during the Pueblo uprisings of 1680 and the 1690's.[44] The others were refugees.

The desire for peace was made a reality as a result of these destructive forays against the Navahos. "The majority of their captains came down to seek peace in the name of their people, bringing some skins, baskets and other things from their country to ransom . . ." their people held as prisoners.[45] The Spanish were equally desirous of peace. Warfare had been expensive, and had brought about a serious depletion in the supply of munitions.[46] The value of the plunder was not great and campaigning was a hardship for the number of fighting men available and their limited resources.

For a few years New Mexico enjoyed an uneasy truce

43. Attonio Tafoia testimony, *Ibid.* Antonio Ulibarri, on the campaign that he participated in, saw about 200 Navahos. *Ibid.*

44. Fray Juan de Tagle, Statement, October 17, 1705. *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 5, f491. Cabildo of Santa Fe, Statement, October 13, 1705, *Ibid.*, f493.

45. Santa Fe Cabildo, February 23, 1706. *Ibid.*, f456.

46. Junta General, February 26, 1706. *Ibid.*, f443. Cuervo to Albuquerque, October 27, 1705. *Ibid.*, f478.

In the spring of 1706 the general picture of conditions in New Mexico was again painted in dark shades by Fray Juan Alvares of the Nambé mission, April 7, 1706. *Ibid.*, f449. Fray Juan Alvares, April 16, 1706. *Ibid.*, f455.

with these people and trade relations were resumed.[47] The Governor now promoted expansion. He established the new villa of Albuquerque in the spring of 1706 and refounded the pueblo of Galisteo for displaced persons from that area. The settlers at the Bosque of Doña Louisa, or Albuquerque, were not left to their own devices for security. A squad of ten soldiers with their families were located there to perform the customary duty of escorting travelers and to protect the new settlement, "being a main frontier of the barbarous nations of Chilmos, Gilas and said Faraones"[48] Apaches.

The omission of the Navahos in the statement concerning the "barbarous nations" of the frontier implies that they were not troublesome in the Rio Abajo, and that their main field for marauding was the Rio Arriba. This means that the troublemakers had been the Navahos from the northern Province, and not those who lived on Cebolleta Mountain. Governor Vargas, a decade earlier, had recommended that a settlement be located near the Pueblo of Santa Ana "to close the way to the enemy Apache. . . ."[49] If the omission of the name Navaho by Vargas is taken literally, it would associate them with Jemez Pueblo only, either in war or peace, insofar as the Rio Abajo was concerned, a not unreasonable assumption when the whole picture of Navaho relations is viewed.

The truce with the frontier foes did not mean that internal conditions were satisfactory. Rumblings of discontent among the Pueblos led Governor Cuervo to make the rounds in May of 1707 in an effort to find the truth and if necessary to take remedial measures.[50] Perhaps this was an added reason for the decision to call in the scattered detachments of troops that had been stationed at frontier posts and to recon-

47. Junta General, July 28, 1706. *Ibid.*, f414v. Cuervo, *Report*, Santa Fe, August, 18, 1706. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:381.

48. Cuervo to Albuquerque, April 26, 1705. *Prov. Intern.*, exped. 5, f465. The settlement was made up of 35 families of 252 persons, which I assume included the soldiers.

For a discussion of the settlement of Albuquerque, see Fray Angelico Chavez, "The Albuquerque Story," *New Mexico Magazine* (January and February, 1956).

49. Vargas to Galve, January 12, 1693, in Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas* . . . , p. 286.

50. Juan Paez Hurtado to Governor Chacón, Santa Fe, October 4, 1707. *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 2, f67. Gov. Chacón took office August 1, 1707. Escalante, *op. cit.*

On October 4, 1707, the Faraone Apaches on the east side struck the Pecos Pueblo. Juan Paez Hurtado, *op. cit.*

centrate them at Santa Fe, a step decided upon in a council held at Sia on May 18.[51]

The Navahos were still at peace,[52] visiting and trading with the Pueblos. On March 31, 1708, a delegation of four arrived at the Pueblo of Santa Clara. They wished to renew the understanding with the Spanish that they would live in peace and claimed to have been sent as ambassadors in behalf "of all the captains of the rancherias and mountains of Navaho."

Santa Clara was in the jurisdiction of the Alcalde Mayor of Santa Cruz who escorted the visitors to see the Governor in Santa Fe, Admiral don Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marqués de la Peñuela (1707-1712). He had assumed the reins of office on August 1, 1707. The fall and winter season was no season for traveling on a goodwill mission to Santa Fe, so the Navahos could scarcely be expected to react overnight to a change in Spanish administration, hence the lateness of their visit.

Governor Chacón received them graciously. He was more than pleased to maintain the status quo. As a symbol of the occasion, the spokesman for the visitors was given a baton. This was an early effort to inculcate in the minds of the Navahos the white man's concept of a final or supreme voice of authority in society.[53]

Unfortunately for both sides, the Navahos soon fell from grace, a tribute to their inchoate political society. There is no

51. Escalante, *op. cit.*

52. Fray Antonio de Miranda to Governor Chacón, Laguna, November 25, 1707. *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 2, f84.

A general analysis of the military situation at this time indicated that the valley of the Rio Chama was the entry for Navaho marauders striking at the pueblos in the Rio Arriba. Ute Indians were dangerous for Taos; Faraone Apaches from the Sandia Mountain could strike at Galisteo and into the Rio Abajo; Apaches in the Rio Gila area and Robber's Mountain just north of Socorro were the southwestern menace. Juan Paez Hurtado to Governor, Santa Fe, March 26, 1708. *Ibid.*, exped. 2, f135. See also Captain Felix Martínez, *Papers 1693-1712*. A. G. I., *Mexico, 60-5-2* (A. C.).

The Pueblo of Santa Clara had especially suffered from attacks from Navaho and Ute. Cubero to Fray Antonio Guerra (Custodio), Santa Fe, March 9, 1712. *New Mexico Originals*, PE6 (B. L.). Juan Paez Hurtado, *op. cit.*

53. Governor to Duke of Albuquerque, Santa Fe, April 6, 1708. In this same letter, the Governor mentioned the Moqui, "with whom this nation [Navaho] has continuous war," but the Navahos were at peace with Zuñi, "where they always enter in peace." *Prov. Intern. 36*, exped. 2, f152. Cabildo, "Statement," Santa Fe, April 1, 1708. *Ibid.*, f150.

evidence at hand to indicate that the Spanish had done anything to precipitate hostilities, nor is there a specific reason advanced for the Navaho behavior. But they were accused of having broken the peace toward the close of 1708. During the year 1709 they did attack the frontier settlements, running off horses and cattle and seizing a few captives. On June 8 they invaded their sometime friends in the Pueblo of Jemez, sacked the houses and the church, and took the items used in the services. This provoked sharp retaliation:

> and although two squadrons of soldiers went to meet them and had several skirmishes, killing some of them and wounding many, they could not make up for the damage done, nor punish them as they deserved becaues they were excessively superior in number. Since this occasion the Marques concentrated all the forces of the Province against them, and without delay pursued them to their own land, and carrying out some successful action, he obliged them to make peace again.[54]

This was only one of five campaigns during the year. The first one had occurred in February when the Navahos raided in the vicinity of Santa Clara Pueblo. On the 21st, the Governor ordered Roque Madrid to assemble the militia and pursue them.[55] Despite these efforts to punish the enemy, the Governor confessed in December that a sixth and major effort must be made. Again the veteran campaigner, Roque Madrid, was called to lead a force of soldiers and Pueblo Indians into Navaholand—this time in the dead of winter.[56]

On one of the campaigns, probably the pursuit that followed the sack of Jemez Pueblo, Antonio Montoia was a participant and recorded his experiences years later in 1745. From the Jemez Pueblo to the Province of Navaho, he said,

> was thirty leagues, the region being a desert to the west . . . He entered into the Province by the said place [Jemez], and at the entrance to it there is a large spring of sweet water, not sufficient for irrigation but it supplies sufficient drinking water for men and horses. From the spring to the northern end of the Province seemed to be about forty

54. Escalante, *op. cit.*

55. R. E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2:166 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914).

56. Santa Fe, December 8, 1708. N. M. A., 1707-1711, *Document 157.*

leagues [100 miles] more or less. There are mesas and mountains and on the former there are many small settlements. The Navahos raise stock and grow considerable corn, also some beans and squash. The natives occupy themselves in raising their stock and cultivating their fields. At the time stated the Navahos had many horses and sheep.[57]

On one of the other campaigns, probably the winter effort of 1708-1709, Anttonio Tafoia related that the expedition traveled by way of Piedra Alumbre which was about eighteen leagues (45 miles) from Santa Fe. "There they saw at a distance about twenty-five Navahos. Pursuing them they killed about ten or twelve and the others fled to the mountains."[58]

The efforts of Governor Chacón to punish the Navahos brought a temporary peace of four years for the Rio Grande settlements, but the same basic relation between the antagonists was left for his successor, Don Juan Ygnacio Flores Mogollón (1712-1715), who assumed office October 5, 1712.[59]

A year later, the Governor was notified by the resident missionary at San Ildefonso that the Navahos had stolen stock belonging to the Pueblo. He promptly consulted with various officials about appropriate action. Captain Alphonso Rael de Aguilar favored immediate pursuit and punishment for the culprits. If action were delayed until springtime, he argued, the horses would be in poor condition for military action. Thomas Holguin, Alcalde Mayor of Santa Cruz, favored suspended judgment: it should first be determined whether or not the Navahos were the guilty party or whether some other Indians had stolen the stock. No names were mentioned, but the region was open for attacks from both Ute and Comanche warriors. Captain Holguin was so conservative that he even suggested that action be delayed until instructions had been received from the Viceroy. He probably

57. *Códallos y Rabal,* "Testimonio. . . ." I judge this spring to be the one known in later times as Ojo Amarillo, near the head of Cañon Largo.

58. *Ibid.* I suspect that some of Governor Chacón's efforts to punish the Navahos did not necessarily mean an actual invasion of the Province of Navaho.

A report on the news from New Mexico includes the statement: "concerning how the Apaches of Navaho attacked the presidio and Pueblos of El Paso and even New Mexico and the measures taken for their repulse. . . ." *Prov. Intern. 36,* exped. 2, f91v. I am very skeptical that the Navahos ever attacked El Paso.

Conditions in New Mexico for the year 1709 are also commented on in La Junta General (Viceregal), May 28, 1710. *Ibid.,* exped. 3, f331.

59. Escalante, *op. cit.*

reasoned that the loss of a few head of stock was preferable to provoking general hostilities with the Navahos, only a few of whom might have been the guilty persons.

General Juan Paez Hurtado advised that the robbers should be trailed to the Santa Clara Mountain. *If* found to be Navahos, they should be punished as promptly as had been done in 1709, when they had taken stock from Chimayo Canyon, that is, the region of Santa Cruz. The Governor finally accepted the moderate view of determining first who was guilty of the outrage.

The robbers were trailed "to the place called the Piedra Alumbre which is where they enter and leave [the settlement] and were recognized to be Navahos who had entered; they were more than fifteen in number." Captain Cristóbal de la Serna was ordered on October 22 to take the field with a contingent of fifty presidial soldiers, twenty militiamen, and 150 Pueblo allies. It was to be a major effort to punish the Navahos. If they fled to the more remote part of their Province near the Rio San Juan, the Captain had instructions to pursue them all the way. However, the way was left open for minimum use of the force. If the enemy would release Pueblo Indian captives, peace talks could be opened.[60]

Blas Martín, a militiaman from Santa Cruz del Ojo Caliente, participated in this campaign and recorded his observations in later years. The expedition assembled at Jemez Pueblo.

He saw a spring at the entrance to the Province [of Navaho] which flowed about fifty paces. He entered the Province about fifteen leagues (38 miles). . . . The Indians retreated from danger but they seized about thirty and burned all the corn fields. He saw no more water than a seepage in the place that they call the gashed [taxada] rock. The water flows and from it they irrigate some garden plots which they plant in season with considerable corn, squash (pumpkin) and melons. They live on the summits of the mesas for security against the Co-

60. N. M. A., 1713-1714, *Document 199*. Escalante mentions the campaign, *op. cit.* Bancroft gives the figure of 400 men for this expedition. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 232. Aguilar recalled in 1745 that about 500 men were involved. Both figures seem too high. Aguilar also stated that they seized about 300 sheep, and that the Utahs were dangerous to the Navahos. Códallos y Rabal, "Testimonio. . . ." The presence of a garrison troop at Santa Clara Pueblo was no deterrent to raiders. Captain Madrid resided there. N. M. A., 1713-1714, *Document 191*.

manches and Utahs. From the spring of Our Lady at the entrance to the Province to the Rio Grande [Rio San Juan] by the route he traveled was about thirty leagues (75 miles) from west [north?] to south. The Navahos sow some corn and squash on the banks of the said river.[61]

This evidence of Navaho well-being makes one wonder why they found it profitable to excite the Spanish by initial attacks. The answer is still the assumption that they lacked political cohesion, so that a few men would be tempted to steal sheep in the Rio Grande Valley while the majority of their kinsmen were quite content to remain at peace—and there was no direct relationship between the two. At any rate, the campaign launched by Governor Mogollón did not bring permanent peace any more than did those of his predecessors.

Hostilities again broke out in March of 1714. On this occasion a leader of the Jemez folk had been killed by the Navahos. The Governor dispatched Captain Madrid against them with a force of fifty soldiers, some militiamen and a contingent of 212 Pueblo warriors. Madrid took the route up the Chama Valley by way of the Piedra Lumbre, probably crossing the river at El Vado and without doubt keeping well south of the Rio San Juan, seeking the Navahos as usual on their mesa tops.[62] The expedition returned by way of Jemez Pueblo. As Blas Martín recalled, they traveled about twenty leagues from the Piedra Lumbre to the Province of Navaho. "In this district there is a small lake which appeared to be rain water, and in some canyons they found some hollows with rain water which the Indians preserved with sand dykes." He also stated that they lived on mesa tops for protection against their enemies the Utahs and Comanches.

61. Códallos y Rabal, "Testimonio. . . ." The ms. direction reads: del poniente al medio dia."

At this time the Governor consulted with his ecclesiastical and civil advisers concerning the practice of painting the face and wearing a headdress that made it difficult to distinguish the Pueblo folk from the frontier folk. Divided counsel resulted in referring the question to the Viceroy. The Pueblos were suspected of committing depredations that were then attributed to the pagans. The proof advanced was their possession of some horses and Spanish armor. It was argued however that they secured these items from the pagans through barter in times of peace. Escalante, *op. cit.* A long letter by Fray Antonio Miranda of Acoma is quoted by Escalante as one point of view on this problem of the Pueblo folk.

62. Escalante, *op. cit.* Escalante implies that this was only part of the story.

"Their houses are built wholly of stone and mud plaster [*terrado*]. They make some wool blankets and baskets and some buckskins which they trade" with the Pueblo folk.[63]

Captain Madrid attacked the Navahos at different locations and managed to capture seven, kill about thirty, and to carry away about 200 fanegas of corn, some other grain, and 110 head of sheep.[64] This quantity of plunder was a good reward for the expense involved and represented a greater loss for the Navahos than what some of them had gained from raiding in the Rio Grande Valley.

Due to chronic illness, Governor Flores appointed an acting governor in October of 1715. The person chosen for the responsibility was Felix Martínez, Captain of the Presidio and Regidor of the Cabildo.[65] Under his administration, the Navaho situation continued to be about the same. In October of 1716 he sent Captain Christóbal de la Serna of the Santa Fe presidio with a contingent of forty soldiers, some militiamen and the usual contingent of Pueblo fighters. The total was about 400 men. They traveled by way of Jemez Pueblo. The entrance of the Province, according to Antonio Ulibarri, was about fifteen leagues from Jemez, a distance without any inhabitants, although marked with many mesas and mountains. They penetrated the Province for about twenty leagues to a place that they called *Los Peñolitos*, "where they had a fight with the said pagan Indians. They killed six Indians and seized about 200 head of sheep. He saw some Indians fleeing for the mesas." The expedition returned by way of Jemez.[66]

Antonio Ulibarri had participated in an unusual campaign as he realized with the passing of the years. The seventeenth century heritage of warfare between the Spanish and the Navaho now came to an end. They lived in peace with one another for over half a century. Antonio Montoia

63. Códallos y Rabal, "Testimonio. . . ."

The mention of a small lake on the route to the Province indicates that they crossed the Rio Chama at El Vado and passed by Horse Lake.

Juan Bigil (or Vigil) estimated the distance from the Piedra Lumbre to the Province at fifteen leagues. *Ibid.*

64. Escalante, *op. cit.*

65. *Ibid.* Governor Martínez served until January 20, 1717. Juan Paez Hurtado was acting governor until Valverde arrived. B. N. M., leg. 3.

66. Códallos y Rabal, "Testimonio. . . ."

attributed this peace to pressure from the Utahs and Comanches upon the Navahos who in turn were anxious to maintain peace with and even to be safeguarded by the Spanish.[67] The same two tribes were also pressing against the Jicarilla Apaches who in turn were falling back from the northeast upon the Spanish for protection.[68] But this was not the whole of the story.

If the basic reason for the hostilities between the Navahos and the Spanish had been the predatory desire of the latter to secure booty, there was no significant development in the decade of the 1720's to bring about a change in Spanish behavior. If anything, they should have had more interest in booty since they had been complaining of poverty. If the basis for the fighting lay in the predatory tendencies of the Navahos, the destructive raids of the Spanish could account for the Indians' eventual willingness to live at peace with them. An inconstancy in behavior has often been attributed to the Indian in general by the white man throughout their history of conflict. If this were a true interpretation of Indian character, it would be difficult to account for a period of peace between the Navahos and the Spanish and Pueblo people that now lasted for a half century. One must conclude that the Navahos had been the aggressors and had been getting the worst of the deal in the guerrilla warfare since the days of Governor De Vargas.[69] To this can be added the contemporary judgment that pressure from other foes gave the Navahos something else to think about than raiding the valley of the Rio Grande. The warfare had worked a hardship on the Spanish, so the era of peace was a pleasing respite for both parties.

---

67. Both these witnesses are speaking as of 1745, but their testimony is correct in regard to peace. Governor Juan Domingo de Bustamante made a peaceful *entrada* during his administration (1722-31). Códallos y Rabal, "Testimonio. . . ." There is no mention of any trouble in Bustamante's *residencia*, nor in Governor Olavid's (1737-1739) *residencia*. *New Mexico Originals*, PE 17. There is no mention of trouble with the Navahos after the campaign of 1715 in H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1888).

68. See documents in Alfred B. Thomas, ed., *After Coronado: Spanish explorations northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727*, pp. 115, 208. Norman: Universtiy of Oklahoma Press, 1935.

69. See Frank D. Reeve, "Seventeenth Century Navaho-Spanish Relations," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January, 1957).

Another reason for a long period of peace in the eighteenth century can be assumed from present-day studies of Navaho characteristics. They are a people who admire individual initiative and thrift, but are cool toward the practice of securing too large an amount of worldly goods per person: "to have either too much or too little gives grounds for suspicion on the part of" one's neighbors.[70] The possession of sheep in the eighteenth century, acquired from the Spanish, and their older farm economy provided them with a livelihood that made less necessary the raiding of settlements in the Rio Grande Valley. They could have material comfort without seeking to become "millionaires," especially since they are credited with psychological values in living that mitigate the urge for material possessions.

70. Clyde Kluckhohn, "A Navaho Personal Document with a Brief Paretian Analysis," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 1, p. 275 (1945).

The checklist which follows is designed to facilitate reference to a rich and varied collection of travel essays, never reprinted, dealing with life in the Southwest—Mexico and Texas in the early days of the nineteenth century. It is hoped that the list will both call attention to the essays and enable them to be located without a search of entire files of the New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* where they once appeared.

They were printed between December, 1819, and September, 1841, and complete files of the issues concerned are available in the New Orleans Public Library, and in more scattered form in the offices of the paper's present day descendant, the *Times-Picayune.*

The essays' form is epistolary, their style highly descriptive and informal, and their immediacy and wealth of historical detail make them an outstanding record of life during the exploration of the old Southwest. Judging by the style and references made, a great majority of the essays—those headed "Prairie Sketches" and "Rocky Mountain Sketches"—are by Matthew C. Field.

Yale University DEREK COLVILLE

HEADING	TITLE	DATE	PG.	COL.
none	Approaching St. Fernandez—Valley of Taos	Fri., Dec. 6, 1839[1]	1	4
none	A Salt Pond	Sat., Dec. 7, 1839	2	4
Prairie Sketches	Council Grove (Santa Fé Route)	Tues., Dec. 10, 1839	2	2

1. There are no travel letters in the *Daily Picayune* prior to this date. (File July-December 1837 missing.)

N.B. The following note appears in the issue of December 11, 1839, page 2, column 4:

Rocky Mountain Sketches.

(The sketches of the mountains and the prairie that have appeared in the paper during the last week are from the pen of a late traveller to those parts now engaged upon our sheet. They are not [f]ancy sketches, but rather fanciful relations of real incidents, and although written to amuse, they contain certain useful information to all who feel an interest in the Santa Fé trade, or who have any curiosity touching the manners, customs, modes of travel, dangers etc. among the mountains and the great prairies of the West.)

" "	Our First Buffalo Hunt	Wed., Dec. 11, 1839	2	5
" "	A Butchering	Thurs., Dec. 12, 1839	2	3
" "	The Wild Horse (Walnut Creek)	Fri., Dec. 13, 1839	2	4
Rocky Mountain Sketches	The Ascent—The Night Camp	Sun., Dec. 15, 1839	2	4
" "	Ojo Colorado or Red Eye (Taos)	Sat., Dec. 21, 1839	2	4
" "	The Grizzly Bear	Fri., Dec. 27, 1839	2	4
none	Santa Fe—Its Ladies and Shops	Sat., Jan. 4, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	Fording the Arkansas (return from Santa Fé)	Fri., Jan. 10, 1840	2	4
" "	The Lost Dog	Wed., Jan. 15, 1840	2	3
" "	A Fandango in Santa Fé	Fri., Jan. 17, 1840	2	4
" "	The Night Guard—The Attack	Fri., Jan. 24, 1840	2	3
" "	The Burning Prairie	Wed., Jan. 29, 1840	2	4
" "	The Burnt Prairie	Fri., Jan. 31, 1840	2	4
" "	Poem Night on the Prairie	Sun., Feb. 2, 1840	2	4
" "	Death of Bernardo	Sat., Feb. 8, 1840	2	4
" "	Valentine's Defeat	Sun., Feb. 9, 1840	2	4
Rocky Mt. Sk.	A Burial in Taos (St. Fernandez)	Sat., Feb. 15, 1840	2	4
" "	The Fire Jump (Taos to Santa Fé)	Sun., Feb. 16, 1840	2	3
" "	Maria Romero	Fri., Feb. 21, 1840	2	3
Prairie Sk.	The Buffalo	Sun., Feb. 23, 1840	2	3
Rocky Mt. Sk.	Battle of the Ranch (Santa Fé)	Fri., Feb. 28, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	A Storm	Sun., Mar. 1, 1840	2	3
Rocky Mt. Sk.	The Dying Murderer	Thurs., Mar. 5, 1840	2	4
" "	Montezuma's Treasure (Taos)	Wed., Mar. 11, 1840	2	3
Prairie Sk.	Las Tres Marias	Fri., Mar. 13, 1840	2	4
" "	The Indian Fort	Tues., Mar. 17, 1840	2	4
" "	The Blind Buffalo	Fri., Mar. 20, 1840	2	4
Rocky Mt. Sk.	The Sacred Fire (Santa Fé)	Thurs., Mar. 26, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	The Cache	Thurs., Apr. 2, 1840	2	3
" "	The Lost Track	Wed., Apr. 8, 1840	2	3
" "	Camanches (San Miguel)	Sat., Apr. 11, 1840	2	3

Rocky Mt. Sk.	Santa Fe (Santa Fé)	Fri., Apr. 17, 1840	2	4
" "	Senora Toulous (Santa Fé)	Sat., Apr. 18, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	A Sunday in San Miguel	Sun., Apr. 26, 1840	2	4
Rocky Mt. Sk.	The Fairy Lake	Fri., May 1, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	An Alarming Recontre	Tues., May 5, 1840	2	3
" "	A Cool Greeting—The Santa Fé Trade	Sat., May 16, 1840	2	3
Rocky Mt. Sk.	The Snow Cliff	Sat., May 23, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	Night Guarding	Fri., June 5, 1840	2	4
Rocky Mt. Sk.	Timoteo (Santa Fé)	Fri., June 19, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	Disheartened Travellers Returning (Council Grove, near Independence)	Sun., June 28, 1840	2	3
" "	Robbery of Ft. William	Sun., July 12, 1840	2	3
" "	Pueblo de Leche	Tues., July 14, 1840	2	4
" "	Buffalo Chase	Sun., July 26, 1840	2	3
" "	The Sand Hills	Fri., Aug. 7, 1840	2	4
Scenes in Santa Fé	The Monte Bank	Thurs., Aug. 13, 1840	2	3
" "	The Smugglers	Sat., Aug. 15, 1840	2	4
" "	A Wedding	Thurs., Aug. 20, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	Jim Rogers	Sat., Aug. 29, 1840	2	4
Scenes in S.F.	A Night Row	Sun., Sept. 6, 1840	2	4
" "	A Trader's Shop	Fri., Sept. 18, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	An Old Bull	Wed., Sept. 23, 1840	2	4
Scenes in S.F.	An Arrival	Thurs., Oct. 1, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	The Ratone	Sat., Oct. 3, 1840	2	4
" "	Big Timber	Sun., Oct. 11, 1840	2	4
" "	The River Styx	Wed., Oct. 21, 1840	2	4
" "	A Night Scene	Tues., Oct. 27, 1840	2	4
" "	Legend of Pawnee Rock	Sun., Nov. 15, 1840	2	4
" "	Dog Towns	Sun., Nov. 22, 1840	2	4
Scenes in S.F.	Evening	Thurs., Nov. 26, 1840	2	4
Prairie Sk.	Sham Indians	Thurs., Dec. 3, 1840	2	3
" "	Independence	Sun., Dec. 13, 1840	2	4
" "	About an Old Woman and a Pipe	Wed., Dec. 23, 1840	2	4
" "	The Rancheros	Wed., Dec. 30, 1840	2	3
" "	The Deserted Village	Sat., Jan. 9, 1841	2	3
" "	A Duel Without Seconds	Sat., Jan. 16, 1841	2	3
" "	Imallahokes	Wed., Jan. 20, 1841	2	3
" "	Adam and Eve	Wed., Feb. 3, 1841	2	4
Rocky Mt. Sk.	A Mexican Inn	Thurs., Feb. 18, 1841	2	3

Prairie Sk.	Lazy Hasey	Sat., Apr. 10, 1841	2	4
" "	The Lost Man	Thurs., Apr. 22, 1841	2	4
" "	Cotton Wood Grove	Wed., May 12, 1841	2	3
" "	The Route to Santa Fé	Thurs., June 17, 1841	2	4
Editorial Correspondence signed G.W.K. (Camp Caznean, Texas)		Sat., July 17, 1841	2	4
Prairie Sk.	Trappers Trapped by Crows	Thurs., Aug. 5, 1841	2	3
" "	Crows and Arrappachos	Sun., Sept. 26, 1841	2	4
none	A Greenroom Prairie Sketch—The Drama among the Crows	Wed., Sept. 29, 1841	2	3

* * *

University of New Mexico, Special Collections*

ALBUQUERQUE WOOL SCOURING MILLS. *Minutes of Directors Meetings, 1900-1914.*
1 volume.
A handwritten volume containing minutes of meetings of the Directors of the Albuquerque Wool Sceuring Mills, 18 August 1900 to 2 June 1914.

ALBURQUERQUE, BELTRAN OSORIO Y DIEZ RIVERA, duque de, *collector. Documents Pertaining to the Alburquerque Family, 1462-1731.*
Photoprints of the originals in the archives of the Alburquerque family.
17 photoprints.
Photoprints of mercedes, titulos, autorizaciones, concesiones, cartelas, mandamientos, testamentos, etc., 1462-1731, assembled by the 18th duke of Alburquerque and relating to his ancestors. Includes: Merced o donacion de la villa de Alburquerque hecha por el rey Enrique IV a Don Beltran de la Cueva, 1464; Felipe IV anuncia al VIII duque virrey de Nueva Espana el nacimiento del Principe Felipe Prospero, 1650; Algunas disposiciones del testamento del X Duque de Alburquerque sobre su enterramiento, resposteros 1731.

ALVAREZ, MANUEL. *Memorandum Book, ca. 1834-1844.*
Photoprint of the original.
1 volume. (153 pages)
"Este libro contiene algunos discursos, frases, sentencias . . . y notas sacadas de varias obras que pienso ser util tener presentes . . . 28 Diciembre 1834." (quoted from the first page of the book) Alvarez was United States Consul at Santa Fe, New Mexico.

* Compiled by Albert James Diaz, Special Collections Librarian.

ANDREWS, WILLIAM HENRY, 1842-1919, *collector. Scrapbooks, ca. 1910-1913.*
2 volumes, 1 file box.
Newspaper clippings and scrapbooks containing newspaper clippings relating to New Mexico's admission to the Union, ca. 1910-1913. Andrews came to New Mexico from Pennsylvania in 1902 and was a delegate to Congress from 1905 to 1912.

ANDREWS, WILLIAM HENRY, 1842-1919. *Statement and Papers Relating to the New Mexico Constitution, 1911.*
1 file box.
Printer's copy of pages 114-366 of the U. S. Congress, House Committee on the Territories, *Constitution for the Proposed State of New Mexico*, i.e. "Statement of Hon. William H. Andrews, delegate from the Territory of New Mexico," and letters, affidavits, telegrams, etc., concerning the legality of the election for ratification of the Constitution held on 21 January 1911.

AREU, MANUEL, *collector. Zarzuelas.*
17 linear feet.
Manuscript and printed musical scores, lyrics, and dramatic prose of zarzuelas (a type of Spanish light opera, generally comic in nature, in which music and dialogue usually alternate) given in Arizona and New Mexico early in the present century. They were found in Jerome, Arizona, having been left there by members of the Areu family, Cuban performers believed to have presented zarzuelas in the Southwest, ca. 1910-1930. Approximately one hundred zarzuelas are represented.

ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE RAILWAY COMPANY. *Stock Yards Records, 1920's.*
1 file box.
Live stock record books, time books, station records of live stock unloading for feed and rest, etc. at the Santa Fe stock yards at Albuquerque and Abajo, 1920's.

BANDELIER, ADOLPH FRANCIS ALPHONSE, 1840-1914. *Journals, 1880-1893.*
A carbon copy of the typed transcript of the original manuscript in the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.
6 volumes.
Bandelier began his anthropological exploration of New Mexico in 1880 and was a resident of Santa Fe from 1885 to 1892. These journals relate to his explorations in the Southwest.

BANDELIER, ADOLPH FRANCIS ALPHONSE, 1840-1914. *Sketches.*
Tracings of 158 sketches in Bandelier's Journals, 1880-1893 (manuscript) in the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

BEIGER, W. M., *collector. Photographs, ca. 1885-1920.*
1 folder.

Miscellaneous photographs of New Mexico, ca. 1885-1920. (1) Interior of Congregational Church after rebuilding, 1893; (2) David Ross Boyd, 5th President, University of New Mexico; (3) Front Street, "New" Albuquerque (n.d.); (4) "Volunteer Hose and Fire Company when fair grounds were in Old Town"; (5) Capt. Jack W. Crawford, Indian scout and poet, San Marcial, N. M.; (6) View of Kingston, N. M., 1887; (7) Pupils and instructors of the U. S. Indian School, 1890; (8) Railroad workers (n.d.); (9) Cowboys eating on the range. These photographs are the work of several photographers—J. Fortin, M. B. Howard and Wm. P. Carter of Albuquerque; J. C. Burke of Kingston and A. E. Rinehart of Denver, Colorado.

BENT, CHARLES, 1797-1847. *Correspondence, 1839-1846.*
Microfilm copies of original letters in the Benjamin M. Read Collection in the library of the Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fe.
1 reel. (letters numbered from 39 to 93)
Correspondence, 1839-1846, with Manuel Alvarez, U. S. Consul in Santa Fe. Bent was a general merchandiser in New Mexico and Civil Governor, 1846-1847.
See: Frank D. Reeve, "The Charles Bent Papers," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 29 (1954), 234-239, 311-317; 30 (1955), 154-167, 252-254, 340-352; 31 (1956), 75-77, 157-164, 251-253 for a published version of the letters.

BERGERE, ALFRED M. *Scrapbook, ca. 1883-1915.*
Photoprint of the original.
1 volume. (78 pages)
A scrapbook devoted to events in New Mexico, ca. 1883-1915; primarily clippings on the death, funeral and will of Solomon Luna (Bergere was married to Eloisa Luna, Solomon's sister); the death of Maximiliano Luna; the shooting of Manuel B. Otero; and birth and death notices of various members of the Luna and Bergere families. Bergere was active in Valencia county politics and in the Republican Central Committee. In later life he lived in Santa Fe where he was clerk of the district court of the first judicial district.

BLAZER, JOSEPH H., 1828-1898. *Business Records, 1871-1896.*
10 volumes.
Miscellaneous business records of Blazer's Mill, a mill located in Mescalero, Lincoln County, New Mexico. The mill was operated by Joseph H. Blazer during most of the period that these records encompass. It was later operated by A. N. Blazer who was also a general merchandiser, Indian trader and Justice of the Peace in Mescalero. The records include time books, blotters, sales books, grist mill accounts, and journals.
"Dr. Joseph H. Blazer was a close witness to many exciting events of the Lincoln County War. In 1867 Blazer drifted into Lincoln County and

traded a freighting outfit for a sawmill at Mescalero, known thereafter as Blazer's Mill. The mill had been operated even prior to the Mexican War of 1846. Lumber from the mill was used in the construction and repair of buildings at Fort Davis and Fort Bliss, Texas, and Fort Selden and Fort Stanton in New Mexico. . . . Blazer's Mill has a permanent place in New Mexico history because it was the scene of the killings of "Buckshot" Roberts on April 4, 1878." (William A. Keleher, *Violence in Lincoln County, 1869-1881.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957, p. 134)

BOND (FRANK) & SON, INC. *Business Records, ca. 1900-1940.*
2 filing cabinets, 13 file drawers, 80 volumes.
Business records of Frank Bond & Son, Inc., dealers in wool, sheep, cattle, and general merchandise. Includes records of early Bond establishments, principally in Española and Encino as well as later interests throughout the state—22 copy books, 1902-1918; 7 sheep notebooks, 1918-1927; 13 file drawers of correspondence, 1927-1937; income tax returns; checkbooks; leases; ledgers; journals; cattle accounts; sheep accounts; contracts; purchase orders; vouchers; etc. Frank Bond & Son, Inc. was established shortly after Frank Bond moved from Española to Albuquerque in 1925. It organized and incorporated many of the interests which grew out of the merchandise establishment purchased by Frank and George Bond in 1883 a year after they arrived in New Mexico.

BOND, MARSHALL, *collector. Miscellanea Relating to Billy the Kid.*
1 folder. (33 items)
Letters, notes, photographs and newspaper clippings relating to a trip taken by Governor and Mrs. Miguel Otero, Marshall Bond and Marshall Bond, Jr. in the mid 1920's for the purpose of investigating events in the life of Billy the Kid in connection with Otero's book, *The Real Billy the Kid,* which was dedicated to Bond and used photographs taken by him on this trip. Includes correspondence between Otero and Bond, 1926-1928, and between Deluvina Maxwell and Bond, 1926-1927; an envelope containing, "Notes on Billy the Kid by Marshall Bond, Sr., 1926"; and photographs of Jeff, John, Pitzer and Jim Chisum, Colonel Dudley, Billy the Kid, Charlie and Manuela Bowdre, Ash Upson, Pat Garrett, Jim Brent, John Poe and Deluvina Maxwell.

BOURKE, JOHN GREGORY, 1843-1896. *Diary, 1869-1896.*
84 volumes. Photoprint of the original diary (126 volumes) in the Library of the U. S. Military Academy, West Point.
Approximately three-fourths of the entries are in Bourke's handwriting—field-notes, ethnological data, campaign records, and day-to-day events; a fifth of the entries consist of clippings and miscellanea—general army orders, newspaper clippings, travel data, programs, menus, etc.; the rest of the diary is devoted to drawings by Bourke—maps, cos-

tumes, artifacts, and architectural details. Bourke was an officer in the U. S. Army during the years covered by the diary. He served in the Southwest from 1869 to 1875 and intermittently during the 1880's and 1890's.

See: Lansing L. Bloom, editor, "Bourke on the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 8 (1933), 1-30; 9 (1934), 33-77, 159-183, 273-289, 375-436; 10 (1935), 1-35, 271-322; 11 (1936), 77-122, 188-207, 217-282; 12 (1937), 41-77, 337-379; 13 (1938), 192-328, for a published version of portions of this diary.

BREECE LUMBER AND SUPPLY COMPANY, Albuquerque. *Business Records, ca. 1890-1925.*

41 packets in one box.

Business records of the Breece Lumber and Supply Company, ca. 1890-1925. Eighteen packets containing contracts, state patents, deeds, abstracts and certificates of land titles, originals of old contracts with the Santa Fe railway, minute books, etc. Twenty-three packets of individual deeds and documents.

BROOKS, GEORGE L. *Letters, 1884-1893.*

26 volumes.

Bound copies of business letters written by George L. Brooks, 1884-1893. According to the *Albuquerque City Directory, 1896*, Brooks was general live stock agent for the western division of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe.

BRYAN, RICHARD WILLIAM DICKINSON, 1849-1913. *Papers, ca. 1876-1910.*

2 file boxes.

Papers of R. W. D. Bryan, ca. 1876-1910, primarily relating to his law practice in Albuquerque and to the Albuquerque Indian School of which he was superintendent for a time. Includes official correspondence of his son George who was the University of New Mexico student football manager in 1920. Bryan was a member of the Hall Arctic Expedition, 1871-1873. He came to New Mexico in 1882 to serve as superintendent of the Albuquerque Indian School.

BURG, DOLORES (OTERO). *Photograph Album, ca. 1900.*

1 volume.

A personal photograph album filled with family photographs and inscribed, "A Merry, Joyous Christmas and a Happy New Year to my dear Dolores. . . . Dec. 25, 1900." Mrs. Burg was the daughter of Mariano S. and Filomena Otero Perea Otero and the wife of John Baron Burg.

BURG, JOHN BARON, 1878-1943. *Scrapbooks and Photographs, 1911-1938.*

5 volumes.

(1) Scrapbook of politics in New Mexico, 1911-1913; (2) Scrapbook of a dispute between Burg and the Albuquerque City Commission regarding the lighting franchise, 1923; (3) Scrapbook of the 1936 election in New Mexico in which Burg successfully ran for District Attorney of the 7th Judicial District (Valencia, Catron, Sierra and Socorro counties); (4) Scrapbook of newspaper articles by Burg, "Valencia County, Its Past History," 1937-1938; (5) Photograph album.
Burg, a lawyer, came to Albuquerque in 1906, served as probate judge of Bernalillo county, member of the first state legislature of New Mexico, and district attorney of the 7th judicial district.

BURSUM, HOLM OLAF, 1867-. *Papers, 1918-1936.*
4 file boxes.
Box 1. Personal letters, 1918-1936; political affairs, 1921-1936; personal business transactions, 1921-1936; papers relating to the Committee on the Conservation and Administration of the Public Domain, 1934-1936; invalid pensions, 1925; war veteran pensions, 1925-1935; Rio Grande Supply Company, transactions, 1918-1921.
Boxes 2-3. Bills and resolutions, United States Senate, and correspondence pertaining to same.
Box 4. Data relating to the appointment of H. O. Bursum as United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Albert B. Fall; Miscellaneous.
Bursum came to New Mexico in 1881 and eventually settled in Socorro where he was a sheep and cattle rancher. After being in politics for many years and holding several offices, he served as United States Senator, 1921-1925.

CATRON, THOMAS BENTON, 1840-1921. *Catron Collection.*
9,574 printed volumes.
Papers, ca. 1878-1915. 137 file boxes, 122 letter boxes, 105 volumes, 100 pamphlets, 7 file drawers.
Personal letters of T. B. Catron and members of his family and legal firm; correspondence and case records of his legal firm; miscellaneous records of commercial firms in which Catron was interested; papers of the Republican State Central Committee; papers of Catron as U. S. Senator, case records of the U. S. Court of Private Land Claims.
Catron, a lawyer, businessman and politician, came to New Mexico in 1866. He served as United States Senator, 1912-1917. The papers include—
Correspondence. Catron and Catron letter press books, 1888-1923 (30 volumes); Catron and Catron letters, 1910-1912 (6 file boxes); General file, 1885-1912 (65 file boxes); T. B. Catron letter press books, 1886-1912 (31 volumes); Robert C. Gortner letter press books, 1891-1910 (11 volumes).
Case and land title records. Catron and Catron, 1913-1917 (6 filing cases); U. S. Court of Private Land Claims, 1891-1903 (45 file boxes).

Political papers. Political campaigns, New Mexico, 1878-1906 (1 file box); Miguel A. Otero papers, 1901-1905 (1 file box); Republican Central Committee of New Mexico, correspondence and papers, 1916 (31 file boxes).
Senatorial papers. T. B. Catron, correspondence as U. S. Senator, 1912-1915 (51 file boxes); Post office appointments in New Mexico, 1912-1915 (9 file boxes); Tariff data, 1912-1915 (8 file boxes).
Business firms. American Valley Company, correspondence, 1900-1902 (3 file boxes, 2 volumes); Aztec Mining Company, financial statements and ledger, 1884-1889; Southwestern Lumber and Railway Company, minute books, 1875-1901 (3 volumes).
Other persons. Correspondence and papers of A. L. Bergere, 1921-1923; Price R. Cross, 1918-1925; Benigno C. Hernandez, 1914-1916; Isaac E. Jewett, 1864-1868; Frank Owen, 1912-1914; O. C. Watson, 1909-1910; Samuel Ellison, 1863-1889 (1 file box each).
Miscellany. T. B. Catron personal papers, 1863-1921 (1 file box); T. B. Catron notebooks, 1863-1899 (7 volumes).

CHAVEZ, JOSE FELIPE. *Papers, ca. 1850-1905.*
1 file box, 2 letter boxes, 1 ledger.
Correspondence, accounts, ledger, etc., ca. 1850-1905, of J. F. Chavez, a trade and merchandise agent in Belen and Santa Fe, New Mexico.

CLARKE, CHARLES FRANCIS, 1827-1862. *Papers, 1847-1882.*
1 file box.
These papers consist chiefly of personal letters written by C. F. Clarke, an army officer, to his wife, Mary, and his parents, and after Clarke's death in 1862, of letters written by his widow and five children to Anne Clarke, his mother, until her death in 1873. Most of the letters are addressed from various western military establishments, chiefly Fort Riley, Kansas, and Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. A few are addressed from Taos, New Mexico. Clarke, an Englishman, came to the United States in 1847 and spent most of his adult life in the U. S. Army. In 1850, he married Mary McGowan who had come to the United States from Ireland upon the death of her father.
See: Herbert Oliver Brayer, ed., *To Form a More Perfect Union, the lives of Charles Francis and Mary Clarke from their letters, 1847-1871.* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1941)

COBB, WILLIAM H. *Cobb Memorial Collection.*
2 file drawers.
Approximately 2300 photographs of nineteenth century New Mexico—early families, wedding pictures, school groups, fraternal groups, church activities, sports, railroads, ranching, early Albuquerque town and landscape scenes, state and territorial fairs, parades, etc. These photographs were taken by William H. and Eddie Ross Cobb, early Albuquerque photographers professionally known as The Cobbs. After

Mr. Cobb's death early in the century the firm was continued by Mrs. Cobb and her children until ca. 1939.

CONTRERAS, EMILIANO. *Papers.*
1 file box.
Miscellaneous business and private papers of: (1) Felipe Peralta, a La Joya retail merchandiser and Socorro county Justice of the Peace in the latter part of the nineteenth century; (2) Abram Contreras, a general merchandiser in La Joya, ca. 1900-1922; (3) Emiliano Contreras (Abram's son), postmaster of Contreras, New Mexico, in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

DARGAN, MARION, 1888-1952. *Papers, ca. 1935-1945.*
2 file drawers, 1 file box.
Primarily notes taken in preparation for writing, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912," which appeared in the *New Mexico Historical Review* from 1939 to 1943 . . . e.g. biographical data on Miguel Antonio Otero, Herbert Hagerman, Shandon Bernard Rodey and others, excerpts from newspapers, quotations from documents, correspondence from those involved in the statehood fight answering questions put to them by Dargan (particularly M. A. Otero). Also included are outlines of courses, tests, essays turned in by students and other papers pertaining to Dargan's professional duties as a member of the Department of History at the University of New Mexico.

D'ARMAND, LOUIS, *collector. Spanish Language Documents, 1792-1871.*
1 folder. (9 documents)
Spanish language documents relating to New Mexico from the Spanish, Mexican and Territorial periods, 1792-1871—censuses, letters, petitions, appointments. Includes: (1) 1792. November. Santa Fe. Census data for Santa Fe and surroundings, Albuquerque, Paso del Rio del Norte, Laguna and other selected areas. The breakdown is by men, women, girls and boys. The number of married persons, widowers, and bachelors is also noted; (2) 1796. 17 April. Taos. Census data for the Taos area. Figures are given for the number of men, women, boys, girls, male servants and female servants. Also notes the number of Indians, mestizos, 'color quebrado', married persons, widowers, and bachelors; (3) 1807. 12 May. Santa Fe. A census of men able to bear arms in the Province of New Mexico. Figures are given by Jurisdictions and divided into four categories—a) mounted men with firearms, b) unmounted men with firearms, c) mounted men without firearms but with other arms, d) unmounted men without firearms but with other arms; (4) 1837. 31 December. Compania permanente de Santa Fe. Seven sheets bound as a booklet describing the various offices, posts, etc. held by the members of the Company; (5) 1841. 2 December. Palacio del Gobierno General en Mexico. El ciudadano Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana

. . . en atencion al merito y servicios del ciudadano . . . Donaciano Vigil le confiero el grado de Capitan . . .

DAVIES, EDWARD PATRICK, 1880-1930. *Papers, 1909-1921.*
1 folder.
Correspondence, bills, receipts, invoices, etc., 1909-1921, of E. P. Davies, Santa Fe lawyer and mayor of that city in 1918.

DILLON, RICHARD CHARLES, 1877-. *Papers, 1926-1944.*
11 file boxes, 10 linear feet.
Papers of R. C. Dillon primarily relating to his two terms as Governor of the State of New Mexico, 1927-29, 1929-31. (1) Correspondence: 1932 and 1934 elections; (2) Correspondence with various individuals, 1930-1938, e.g. Bronson Cutting, Manuel B. Otero; (3) General correspondence, 1926-1944, and miscellaneous; (4) Political correspondence, 1927-1944; (5) (6) Correspondence relating to requests for appointment to political office, 1926-1932; (7) Congratulatory messages, invitations, etc.; (8) Information requested from mercantile establishments by the State Tax Commission of New Mexico, 1930. (printed forms filled out by mercantile establishments); (9) (10) Typed copies of addresses and newspaper releases, 1927-1934; (11) Personal correspondence, 1930-1933, and ten linear feet of materials from Dillon's general office files.

DOOLITTLE, JAMES ROOD, 1815-1897. *Letter, 1881.*
1 sheet.
Photoprint of original letter in the Doolittle Papers in the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.
Photoprint copy of letter written to Mrs. L. F. S. Foster on 7 March 1881 by Doolittle, U. S. Senator from Wisconsin, 1857-1869. It gives an unofficial account of his trip through New Mexico in 1865 as a member of a joint congressional committee appointed 3 March 1865 "to investigate the condition of the Indian tribes and their treatment by the civil and military authorities."
See: *New Mexico Historical Review*, 26 (1951), 148-158, for a published version of the letter with notes.

DOUGLASS, WILLIAM BOONE. *Correspondence, 1920-1922.*
1 folder. (14 letters)
Letters exchanged by W. B. Douglass, U. S. Cadastral Engineer, and Frank Ortiz, Governor of Acoma, and by Douglass and James H. Miller, interpreter of Acoma. They relate to the boundaries of the Acoma grant and to a survey of the grant made by Douglass.

FALL, ALBERT BACON, 1861-1944. *Papers, 1916-1927.*
10 file boxes, 6 volumes.
Boxes 1-3. Correspondence, testimony, notes, memoranda, etc. relating to the Elk Hills and Teapot Dome oil scandals; primarily letters from associates, close friends and attorneys—e.g. Levi Cooke, W. A.

Hawkins, Mark B. Thompson, Henry A. Wise—and from individuals expressing faith in Fall.

Box 4. Personal correspondence, 1921-1927; miscellaneous papers relating to Senate activities, 1911-1917; papers relating to Fall's Tres Ritos ranch, 1920-1927; correspondence of Mark B. Thompson, Las Cruces lawyer and Fall's close friend.

Box 5. Papers relating to affairs and conditions in Mexico, 1916-1923: correspondence, memoranda, reports, etc. Fall, who served in the U. S. Senate from 1912 to 1921, was assigned to the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1918 and served as Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Mexican Affairs.

Boxes 6-8. Papers relating to activities as Secretary of the Interior: general correspondence, 1921-1923; Honolulu Consolidated Oil Company lease; patronage and favors, etc. Fall was Secretary of the Interior in Harding's cabinet from 5 March 1921 to 4 March 1923 when he resigned.

Box 9. Clarence C. Chase papers, 1916-1924. Chase was Fall's son-in-law and was Collector of Customs in El Paso, Texas, in the early 1920's. The papers are primarily correspondence both personal and official.

Box 10. Miscellaneous: newspaper clippings, pamphlets and reports.

In addition to the above papers there are three scrapbooks of newspaper clippings dealing with the League of Nations fight in Congress, a scrapbook dealing with the oil scandals and approximately fifty court transcripts, briefs, etc. relating to the oil cases.

FERGUSSON, ERNA, 1888-. *Manuscripts.*

3 file boxes.

MSS and galley proof of *Chile*, and notes, newspaper clippings, photographs, pamphlets, etc. gathered and used in writing books on New Mexico and the Southwest.

FERGUSSON, HARVEY BUTLER, 1848-1915. *Letters, 1910-1911.*

1 folder. (55 letters)

Carbon copies of 55 typed letters written by Fergusson, 18 March 1910-10 November 1911, primarily relating to the New Mexico Constitutional Convention. They are addressed to Felix Martinez, James D. Whelan, E. C. de Baca, J. G. Fitch, M. W. McCoy and others. Fergusson, an Albuquerque lawyer, was prominent in politics serving on the Democratic National Committee, 1896-1904, as a Delegate to Congress, 1897-1898, and as a Congressman, 1912-1915.

FITZPATRICK, GEORGE, 1904-. *Scrapbook, ca. 1932.*

1 volume.

A scrapbook of newspaper clippings of "Black Jack Ketchum," a series of "nine stories by George Fitzpatrick and Joe Bursey . . . on . . . Ketchum and his gang of outlaws who terrorized New Mexico and the Southwest in the late nineties." The series appeared in the New Mexico State Tribune in 1932.

FLOERSHEIM MERCANTILE COMPANY. *Mercantile records, ca. 1910-1947.*
18 volumes.
Account books; Cash books, 1939-1944; Day books, 1916-1918; Expense book, 1910; Journals, 1916-1919; Ledger, 1898-1901; Minute books, 1898-1947; Receipt book, 1921-1922; and inventory sheets of the Floersheim Mercantile Company, wholesalers and retailers of general merchandise located in Springer and Roy, New Mexico. The firm was established in 1897.

GROSS, KELLY & COMPANY, INC. *Mercantile Records, ca. 1880-1940.*
150 volumes, 51 letter boxes.
General mercantile records, ca. 1880-1940, of Gross, Kelly & Company, Inc., general wholesalers in New Mexico. Includes general ledgers, miscellaneous ledgers, sales books, cash books, office blotter ledgers, cash and draft registers, journals, cost books, storage ledgers, trial balance books, annual statement books, letter cases, and accounting sheets. Additional material is being added from time to time.

HASTINGS, L. B., *collector. Photographs, ca. 1878.*
1 folder. (4 photographs)
Four photographs taken in the vicinity of Silver City, New Mexico, ca. 1878. Hasting's father, John I. Hastings, was manager of the Bremen Silver Mine on Chloride Flat. Each photograph is accompanied by a detailed, handwritten commentary. Includes a snapshot of Hastings and his covering letter.

HODGIN, CHARLES ELKANAH, 1858-1934. *Papers and Miscellanea.*
7 file boxes.
Hodgin was associated with the University of New Mexico most of his adult life, serving as its Vice-President and as Professor of Education. These papers relate to the University, education in New Mexico, and Hodgin's writings. They include manuscripts of addresses and publications by Hodgin; class (grades, attendance, etc.) books, 1887-1924; University of New Mexico newspapers, photographs, catalogs, yearbooks, etc., ca. 1900; programs of the New Mexico Educational Association; programs, etc. of the Albuquerque Academy; and miscellaneous pamphlets and clippings.

HOPEWELL, WILLARD S., 1847-. *Papers, ca. 1890-1910.*
1 file box.
Miscellaneous papers, ca. 1890-1910, relating to land claims, affairs in Sierra county, business dealings, and the Santa Fe Electric Telephone Company. Hopewell was a rancher, prospector and irrigation promoter in Sierra county and was manager of the Pennsylvania Development Company for a time.

HUDSPETH, ANDREW HUTCHINS, 1874-. *Correspondence, 1902-1913.*
1 folder. (8 letters)

Eight letters written to Hudspeth, 1902-1913, generally political in nature. Hudspeth, a lawyer in Lincoln county, New Mexico, served in the Territorial Legislature, was a member of the Constitutional Convention and a New Mexico Supreme Court Justice. Letters are from George A. Chamberlain, Summers Burkhart, Arthur Seligman, and others.

ILFELD (CHARLES) COMPANY. *Mercantile Records, ca. 1865-1907.*
151 volumes, 110 letter boxes.
General mercantile records, ca. 1865-1907, of Charles Ilfeld, general wholesaler in northern New Mexico. Includes incoming correspondence, outgoing correspondence, cash books, ledgers, petty ledgers, journals, remittances, inventories and miscellaneous advertising materials. Also included are some miscellaneous records of other New Mexico establishments—e.g. Rancho Pajarito, foreman's log, 1885; Waddingham Ranch, ledger and journals, 1887-1891, (3 volumes); Marcus Brunswick, general merchandiser in Las Vegas and Lincoln, New Mexico, and agent for Wilson and Fenlon, government contractors in Leavenworth, Kansas, miscellaneous accounting records, 1880's, (30 volumes).
See: William J. Parish, "Charles Ilfeld and Mercantile Capitalism in the Arid Southwest," *Business Historical Society Bulletin*, 24 (December, 1950), 216-217, for a brief discussion of these papers.

INDIAN AFFAIRS PAPERS, 1758-1905.
2 file boxes.
Miscellaneous papers, 1758-1905, primarily relating to land suits involving Pueblo Indians—letters, documents, translations of documents, court records, petitions, etc.—e.g. 1758, Partition of lands of Jose Trujillo (document); 1832, Jemez Pueblo, Petition relating to cattle grazing (document); 1874, Navaho Indians vs. Mormons (Arizona); 1899, Pueblos of Santo Domingo and San Felipe vs. the United States.

KIKER, HENRY A. *Papers, ca. 1900-1937.*
6 file boxes.
Correspondence and papers relating to legal cases, ca. 1900-1937. Kiker was a lawyer and judge in Raton, New Mexico.

LADD, HORATIO OLIVER, 1839-1932. *Papers, 1879-1932.*
1 file box.
(1) Correspondence, 1881-1932—includes Als of Grover Cleveland; (2) Sketch of the Memorial Building, Indian Girls' School, Santa Fe, designed by Stanford White and Als of Stanford White; (3) "History of the University of New Mexico for Our Children," by Mrs. Horatio Oliver Ladd (nee, Harriet Vaughan Abbott) 25 pages. (typed and unfinished); (4) "Diary of Horatio Oliver Ladd, 1880-1884"; (5) "Extracts from Autobiography and Diary of Dr. Horatio Oliver Ladd relating to his work in New Mexico." 25 pages. (typed); (6) clippings,

essays, reports, sample forms, photographs, programs and miscellanea relating to the University of New Mexico at Santa Fe and the Ramona Industrial School for Indian Girls of the Southwest. Ladd, a minister, founded the University of New Mexico at Santa Fe in 1881 after having come to New Mexico in 1880 to serve as principal of the Santa Fe Academy. He is the author of *The Story of New Mexico.*
See: Frank D. Reeve, "The Old University of New Mexico at Santa Fe," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 8 (July 1933), 201-210.

LADD, JULIA EIRENE, *collector. Photographs, ca. 1890-1940.*
2 file boxes.
Photographs and pictures of New Mexico, ca. 1890-1940: University of New Mexico, primarily the old and present libraries; San Miguel College; Ramona Industrial School for Indian Girls; Horatio O. Ladd and other members of the Ladd family; and miscellaneous.

LAZELLE, HENRY MARTYN, 1832-1917. *Diary, 1857.*
1 volume.
Autograph diary of Henry Martyn Lazelle, 2nd Lieutenant, 8th Infantry, written during the 1857 campaign against the Apache Indians in Southwestern, New Mexico, under the command of Col. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville. The entries run from 20 April 1857 to 13 June 1857.
See: "Puritan and Apache: a Diary," edited by Frank D. Reeve, *New Mexico Historical Review*, 23 (December, 1948), 269-301, and, 24 (January, 1949), 12-53, for a published version with notes.

LOVATO, MIGUEL ANTONIO. *Papers, ca. 1835-1840.*
1 folder. (7 documents)
Seven Spanish language documents written by or relating to M. A. Lovato, a resident of Galisteo and Santa Fe. Papers include letters, petitions, a statement suggesting remedies for certain conditions in New Mexico, and a petition relating to Sandia Pueblo.

MCCREIGHT, W. T. *Manuscripts and Mementos, ca. 1920-1929.*
1 file box.
Clippings and manuscripts of newspaper articles written by McCreight, ca. 1920-1929, for Albuquerque newspapers; and various mementos including photographs. McCreight was city editor of the Albuquerque Evening Citizen and was associated with several New Mexico newspapers during his lifetime.

MCDOWELL, JAMES O. *Business Correspondence, 1904-1937.*
1 file box.
Business correspondence of James O. McDowell, Oil Investments, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1904-1937.

MCGEHEE, MICAJAH, d. 1880. *Journal, 1848-1849.*
193 folios. Transcript (typewritten). The original journal is in the hands of the McGehee family, Woodville, Mississippi.

McGehee, a member of a prominent Mississippi family, tells of his experiences with Fremont's Fourth Expedition. Folios 92-135 deal with New Mexico. Portions of this journal were published in *Century Magazine*, XLI (March, 1891), 771-780. Included is a foreword by Senator Clinton P. Anderson.

MANSFIELD, JOSEPH KING FENNO, 1803-1862. *Report of the Inspection of the Department of New Mexico in 1853.*
34 pages. Photoprint of the original in the hands of Col. M. L. Crimmins.
Pages 10-21 and 63-100 of Colonel Mansfield's 1853 report—includes descriptions, maps, and drawings of Forts Union, Massachusetts, Marcy, Defiance, Conrad, Fillmore, and of Cantonment Burgwin and El Paso; statement of Indian depredations committed in the valley of El Paso from the month of September, 1851, to the month of October, 1853, drawn up by the Hon. Joel L. Ankrim, judge of the District Court; and a copy of a letter from William Carr Lane, Governor of New Mexico, to Col. D. S. Miles, Commanding Officer, Fort Fillmore, dated 19 March 1853. Mansfield was U. S. Army Inspector-General from 1853 to 1861.

MARTINEZ, JOSE, *collector. Spanish Language documents, 1769-1845.*
1 folder. (9 documents)
Nine Spanish language manuscripts from the Spanish and Mexican periods in New Mexico—testimonios, testigos, escrituras, and other legal papers primarily relating to civil suits.

MIDDLE RIO GRANDE VALLEY ASSOCIATION. *Miscellaneous Records, 1922.*
1 folder.
Miscellaneous papers concerning the Middle Rio Grande Valley Association. These papers relate primarily to the formation of the Association and to actions proposed in regard to the McNary Bill.

MILLER, RUTH. *Papers, ca. 1918-1935.*
1 file box, 1 folder.
Papers, ca. 1918-1935, of Mrs. Miller who was Director of Vocational Education in New Mexico—personal correspondence and papers; official correspondence; pamphlets, questionnaires, responses to a questionnaire sent to the Director of Vocational Education in each state, forms, outlines of courses, etc. relating to vocational education, particularly home economics.

NEW MEXICO (TER.) *Territorial Archives, ca. 1848-1912.*
209 file boxes, 35 volumes.
Selected records of the government of the Territory of New Mexico, ca. 1848-1912. Includes: Governor, correspondence, 1898-1909, 6 file boxes; Governor, pardon papers, 1897-1911, 7 file boxes; Secretary, letter-press books, 1905-1910, 12 volumes; Secretary, accounts current,

1869-1872, 1893-1912, 7 file boxes; Legislative Assembly papers, 1851-1909, 45 file boxes; Adjutant General, correspondence, 1897-1911, 5 file boxes; Attorney General, correspondence, 1906-1910, 4 file boxes; Auditor of Public Accounts, papers, 1848-1900, 60 file boxes; Eighth census, 1860, 10 volumes; Ninth census, 1870, 12 volumes; Semi-decennial census, 1885, 6 volumes; appointments; pardon papers; oaths of office; and correspondence and/or papers of the following offices—Commissioner of Public Lands, Engineer, Game and Fish Warden, Librarian, Treasurer, Superintendent of Insurance, Board of Equalization, Bureau of Immigration, Mounted Police, Commission on Irrigation, and Inspector of Cattle.

NEW MEXICO. *County Archives.*
260 file boxes, 163 letter boxes, 793 volumes, 500 linear feet of unbound materials.
Selected records of counties of the Territory and State of New Mexico, ca. 1860-1930. The following counties are well represented at present—Bernalillo, Colfax, Dona Ana, Eddy, Grant, Mora, San Miguel, Santa Fe, Socorro and Valencia. These records include tax schedules, assessment rolls, registers of deeds and mortgages, poll books, marriage licenses, notorial records, correspondence, district court records, reports of various officials (e.g. Superintendent of Schools), journals, ledgers, warrants, vouchers, inventories, petitions, sheriff's dockets, etc.
See: Historical Records Survey, New Mexico, *Inventory of the County Archives of New Mexico.* [in several volumes] This is not an index to the county archives in the University Library but is useful as a general guide for anyone using the materials.

NEW MEXICO. *State Archives, ca. 1912-1935.*
63 file boxes, 18 volumes.
Selected records of the government of the state fo New Mexico, ca. 1912-1935. Includes: Secretary of State, general correspondence, 1912-1936, 8 file boxes; Secretary of State, letter-press books, 1913-1918, 17 volumes; Papers of the Legislature, 1912-1934, 21 filing boxes; mortgage records; executive appointments; oaths of office; proclamations; extradition papers; pardon papers; and general correspondence.

NEW MEXICO. CORONADO CUARTO CENTENNIAL COMMISSION. *Records, 1935-1940.*
1 file box.
Programs, legislative bills, magazines, annual reports, etc., 1935-1940, relating to the Coronado Cuarto Centennial, 1940.

NEW MEXICO. UNIVERSITY. LIBRARY, *collector. New Mexico Archives Collection.*
684 volumes.
A collection of bound photoprint copies of selected documents from various repositories throughout the world. (See below) The documents

relate to the Southwest, particularly New Mexico, ca. 1600-1875, and are also useful for the study of Mexico.

Name of repository	Volumes	Tomos or legajos[1] represented
Mexico. Archivo general de la nacion.	195	236[4]
Santa Fe, N. M. Museum of New Mexico.[2]	238	
Twitchell II documents.[3] 84		
Spain. Archivo general de Indias. Seville.	204	340[5]
Mexico. Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico.	39	22
Mexico. Museo Nacional.	2	24
Catholic Church. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide.	4	8
Other. (private collections)	2	
Totals	684	630

1. These figures are misleading unless it is understood that reference is not made to an entire tomo or legajo—in some cases a tomo or legajo is represented by only one document.

2. Archives kept in New Mexico in the Spanish, Mexican and Territorial periods. Some of the originals were transferred at the beginning of the present century to the Library of Congress where they remained for a number of years. They are now in the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe.

3. Documents described by Ralph Emerson Twitchell in his *Spanish Archives of New Mexico,* Vol. II (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914). Twitchell described 3097 documents; photoprints of 3057 of these are in the Collection.

4. Primarily from the Californias, Historia, Inquisicion and Provincias Internas sections.

5. Primarily from the Audiencia de Mexico and Audiencia de Guadalajara sections.

NEW MEXICO. UNIVERSITY. LIBRARY, *collector. Photoprints.*
3 linear feet.
Photoprints of selected documents housed in various repositories throughout the world—primarily the Archivo general de la nacion, Mexico, and the Archivo general de Indias, Seville. The documents relate to the Southwest, particularly New Mexico and are also useful for the study of Mexico.

NEW MEXICO. UNIVERSITY. LIBRARY, *collector. Transcripts.*
4 linear feet.
Transcripts of selected documents housed in various repositories throughout the world. Similar in scope to *Photoprints.*

NEW MEXICO. UNIVERSITY. LIBRARY, *collector. Translations.*
1¼ linear feet.
Translations of selected documents housed in various repositories throughout the world. Similar in scope to *Photoprints.*

NEW MEXICO CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION. *Records, ca. 1886-1924.*
1 folder.
Programs of annual meetings of the New Mexico Congregational Asso-

ciation, ca. 1886-1924; reports on mission work; directories, annuals and manuals of the First Congregational Church, Albuquerque.

NEW MEXICO DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *Papers, 1894-1920.*
3 file boxes, 2 letter boxes.
Box 1. Correspondence, 1894, 1916-1917; Box 2. Correspondence, 1918; Box 3. Correspondence, 1918, 1920; Box 4. Newspaper clippings; Box 5. Miscellaneous (primarily lists of enlisted men, World War I).

OJO DEL ESPIRITU SANTO COMPANY. *Papers, ca. 1910-1930.*
3 file boxes.
Correspondence, leases, reports, legal proceedings, etc. of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo Company, a firm founded to exploit the various resources of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo grant.

OTERO, MIGUEL ANTONIO, 1859-1944. *Otero Collection.*
465 printed volumes.
Papers, ca. 1890-1935. 43 volumes, 14 letter boxes, 8 envelopes, 2 file boxes.
Papers of M. A. Otero, ca. 1890-1935, including items preserved by Otero but not directly associated with his public life as well as materials relating to his terms as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1907, and to his other political activities. Includes: Letters sent, 1897-1907 (25 volumes); Letters received, 1897-1938 (12 letter boxes); Letters from Bronson Cutting (1 letter box); Expense Account Executive Office, 1897-1905; Executive Ticklers, 1900-1901, 1903-1905; Assessment books, Santa Ana county, 1870, 1871; manuscripts of *My Life on the Frontier*, other published works, and speeches; six scrapbooks; five photograph albums; three notebooks; mementos of the 1924 Democratic National Convention; photoprints of maps; and French language documents, ca. 1798-1871.

PATTEN, OTIS. *Papers, ca. 1864-1880.*
1 file box, 1 folder, 7 volumes.
Public and private papers, ca. 1864-1880, of Otis Patten, Superintendent of the Arkansas Institute for the Education of the Blind. Includes correspondence, letter books, annual reports of the Institute, and scrapbooks.

PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION HELD IN ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO, IN 1908.
1 volume.
Contains photographs of individuals, exhibits, meetings, buildings, etc.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF OFFICIALS OF THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO, *ca. 1910-1925.*
1 box.
Miscellaneous photographs of persons holding state offices in New Mexico, ca. 1910-1925.

(To be continued)

Book Reviews

Ten Texas Feuds. By C. L. Sonnichsen. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1958. Pp. 248. $5.00.

Feuds and feuding have been a part of society since the dawn of time, beginning with the biblical record of human waywardness and continuing through the ages to the latest news accounts of teenage violence. The tendency to correct intolerable conditions and grievances by extra-legal means appears to be basic in human history, and, regardless of the justice of existing protective agencies, revenge is looked upon as a duty and a point of honor between conflicting parties. Feuding is neither a characteristic nor a privilege of any particular racial or national group. Evidence of it is found in the historical literature of all nations, regardless of the levels attained through culture and civilization. Since it is not confined to certain individuals or groups, it may be found in all geographical environments—mountain to plain—wherever law and order is defied, absent or suspended, and man prefers to survive.

Dr. C. L. Sonnichsen, author of *Ten Texas Feuds,* writes in the Prologue, "You won't find a better laboratory for the study of feuds than the State of Texas," and then, skilled technician that he is, expertly reveals the patterns of a segment of society at its best and worst as it deals out folk justice. At times the clinical detail—names, places, and contingent incidents—compound and confuse the basic issues of the feuds, but this is understandable in light of their complexity and the length of time over which they extend. In the case of the "War of the Regulators and the Moderators," the first and worst of the Texas feuds, the violence lasted nearly a half-century, while "The El Paso Salt War," bitter and bloody, culminated in a half-dozen years. For the reviewer, "A Feud for Miss Sue Pinckney," proved the most compelling vendetta. On the surface it mirrors much charm, gen-

tleness, grace, and naivete of the late Victorian period; however, the rhythm of repeated tragedy produced undertones which carry the subtle terror of the Gothic novel. Miss Sue, in the words of the author, was "as much a victim of the feuding spirit as if she had fallen in the 'Courthouse Tragedy' with a bullet in her heart."

Ten Texas Feuds adds new names to the long list of violent men in the West—they appear more virile, sincere, and colorful than the much exploited killers. Now perpetuated these lucky individuals will escape the damnation or deification of their less fortunate but better known brethren who, at the hands of those who will write, still ride forth.

The book is beautifully designed and is a credit to the author and publisher. Fully footnoted and adequately indexed, only illustrations (photographs, if possible, of some of the participants) could have added to the reader's interest.

University of Arkansas CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER

Richard Wetherill: Anasazi. By Frank McNitt. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1957. Pp. xii, 321. Six appendices. Bibliography. Index. $10.00.

From the threads of facts, hearsay, and postulation Frank McNitt has woven the fabric of a very readable story about an almost legendary character in Southwestern Archaeology. The facts were garnered by meticulous reading of the correspondence of the Hyde Exploring Expedition and numerous other letters, searching through all available pertinent field notes, reading archaeological reports, studying the files of the Indian Service in the National Archives, examining court records, going through the files of local newspapers, and interviewing people who had been closely associated with the principal character and his activities. The hearsay was derived from many sources, some reliable, others questionable, and required careful sifting to separate truth from fiction, half-truth from slander. The postulation

is that of the author when he suggests the thoughts that passed through the minds of various individuals on numerous occasions, their reactions to different situations, the words they spoke, and reconstructs the trend of unrecorded events.

Richard Wetherill is probably best known for his part in the discovery of the Mesa Verde and the digging which he and his brothers did there. Subsequent activities in Grand Gulch, Utah, Tsegi Canyon, Arizona, and Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, probably were more significant but they did not catch the public fancy the way the finding of the great cliff houses in southern Colorado did. The Grand Gulch work resulted in the discovery and recognition of the Basket Makers and the preliminary investigations in the Chaco Canyon led to the series of excavations in Pueblo Bonito and Pueblo Peñasco Blanco by the Hyde Exploring Expedition with George H. Pepper as field director. Thus was started an interest in the Canyon which reached its peak in the activities of the School of American Research, The National Geographic Society, and the University of New Mexico long after Wetherill and the Hyde Exploring Expedition had passed from the scene.

The organization, experiences, and results of the various field parties is discussed in detail by Mr. McNitt. He also gives considerable information about the Hyde Exploring Expedition and its many ramifications. Because of the longer time spent there, and the fact that Wetherill not only attempted to homestead the area but also established a trading post near Pueblo Bonito, the Chaco Canyon receives more attention than the other localities where he operated. In that connection an interesting historical and archaeological background is presented for the Chaco Canyon. It summarizes the results of all of the parties which have excavated there and includes much knowledge unknown to the Hydes and Wetherill. However, their contributions are duly noted. The material is well presented and should be helpful to those desiring to know about the archaeology without having to plow through long, and not always available, technical reports.

Specialists may not agree with all that is said, but actually there is little in that chapter with which to find fault. Wetherill's troubles with the Indian Service and the General Land Office as a result of the Bonito project are given full consideration.

The personal side of the story begins with the coming of the first Wetherills to the American Colonies, and from the birth of Richard's father follows that branch of the family in the series of moves that ultimately led to the Mancos Valley and the Alamo Ranch in southwestern Colorado. The trials, vicissitudes, and pleasures of life on the ranch are described, and some of the difficulties Richard had with neighboring ranchers and local authorities are discussed at some length. Mention is made of numerous visitors to the ranch, including the family of itinerant musicians whose oldest daughter, Marietta, was later to become Richard's wife. The courtship and marriage of the couple and their following family life are touching parts of the story. The tragic death of Richard, Marietta's anguish and subsequent tribulations make affecting reading.

The murder of Wetherill by a Navaho Indian and all of the ramifications of the attendant investigations and legal proceedings are thoroughly covered, and it is evident that Mr. McNitt spared no efforts in obtaining as complete information as possible on that much debated and generally misunderstood sequence of events. The material presented casts considerable doubt on the integrity of some of the principal characters and removes much of the stigma that was attached to Wetherill's name.

The appendices consist of short articles pertaining to some of the Wetherill discoveries, letters written by Richard Wetherill, and a discussion of Chaco burials by Mr. McNitt. The latter is a useful contribution in that it brings together and summarizes all of the available data on that subject. However, the question of where most of the Chaco Canyon dead were buried still remains unanswered.

Mr. McNitt's purpose in writing the book on Richard Wetherill was to make available as true an account as pos-

sible about the man who played so great a part in attracting attention to and stimulating work in Southwestern Archaeology. He has done well in that respect and there certainly will be a better understanding of the man than heretofore.

Bureau of American Ethnology FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, JR.

ERRATA

Vol. 33, no. 2, p. 140—should read: wire fencing was *not* economically . . .

Ref

New Mexico Historical Review

Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

KANSAS CITY, MO.
PUBLIC LIBRARY
JAN 12 1959

October, 1958

Editors

FRANK D. REEVE PAUL A. F. WALTER

Associates

PERCY M. BALDWIN GEORGE P. HAMMOND
FRANCE V. SCHOLES ELEANOR B. ADAMS
BRUCE T. ELLIS

VOL. XXXIII OCTOBER, 1958 NO. 4

CONTENTS

Page

Curbing Militarism in Mexico
Edwin Lieuwen 257

George Curry and the Politics of Forest Conservation in New Mexico
Elmo R. Richardson 277

The Report of Fray Alonso de Posada in Relation to Quivira and Teguayo
S. Lyman Tyler and H. Darrel Taylor 285

Notes and Documents 315

Book Reviews 328

THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. Frank D. Reeve, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXXIII OCTOBER, 1958 NO. 4

CURBING MILITARISM IN MEXICO

By EDWIN LIEUWEN *

PROBABLY no country in Latin America has suffered longer and more deeply from the curse of predatory militarism than Mexico. More than a thousand armed uprisings plagued this unfortunate republic in her initial century of nationhood. Here were compounded nearly all the evils and vices associated with undisciplined, irresponsible armed bodies of men on the loose. The word "army" in the popular mind more often than not was equated with criminality, delinquency, ignorance, robbery, violence, and corruption.

The sword and the rifle were the weapons of politics as opportunistic officers ruptured the Constitution and the law with impunity and provoked civil wars. The political turmoil engendered economic chaos—rampant peculation of public funds, disequilibrium in the national budget, bankruptcy for the state, and the loss of public credit abroad. The vigor of the private sector of the economy, especially small industry and incipient commerce, was sapped by burdensome taxes and duties, confiscations, monetary mismanagement and the loss of public confidence. Thus the parasitic military caste made appreciably more harsh the already deep social miseries of the Mexican people.

Mexico has been able to rid itself of the shackles of militarism. No Latin American army was more political until a quarter century ago. Today the armed forces are virtually apolitical. Mexico has thus moved from one extreme to the other.

* Chairman, Department of History, University of New Mexico.

Although militarism was not actually born until after Mexico achieved independence, the seeds were sown and the gestation period was well advanced by the end of the colonial era. The Spanish monarchs had long fostered the growth of a military caste by generally restricting commissions to men of social position and by endowing the officers' corps with special legal privileges. Clever and ambitious young men of limited material means utilized the career of arms as an opportunity for self enrichment.[1] Officership was not a profession, it was a privilege. A late Eighteenth Century observer noted:

> . . . the king had more officers than privates . . . [and] that most of the former purchased their place to mock justice, to escape paying debts, to indulge in gaming and live a life of libertinage under the protection of the epaulettes. . . .[2]

In such an army standards of military honor could mean little, so it was an easy matter for the leaders of the independence movement to get a large fraction of the officer corps to betray their sworn allegiance to the king in exchange for quick promotions and new opportunities for graft. Many young captains in the Spanish army were advanced to the rank of general in the Mexican army as a reward for persuading a large number of privates to desert with them.[3] Thus did the revolutionists succeed on May 18, 1821.

However, with the dissolution of royal authority, the breakdown of discipline in the armed forces was accelerated. Three months after independence was declared, an audacious young officer led a march on the constituent Congress and set himself up as Emperor Augustín I. Thus there began the tragic pattern of undisciplined, irresponsible, opportunistic and ambitious army officers competing amongst each other for short-cuts to wealth, power, and influence.

---

1. Lucas Alamán, *Historia de méjico* (Mexico City, 5 vols, 1849-1852), IV: 445-448.

2. Hipolito Villaroel, *Mexico por dentro y fuero bajo el gobierno de los virreyes, o sea enfermedades políticas* (Mexico City, 1831), p. 170.

3. Alamán, *op cit.*, V; Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and its Heritage* (New York, 1928), p. 289-291. Lyle N. McAlister has concluded that the "privileges granted the army of New Spain were probably the most important factor in the creation of the praetorian tradition." See his *"Fuero Militar" in New Spain* (Univ. of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1957), pp. 14-15.

For nearly sixty years the political processes were dominated by military violence. Hundreds of barracks uprisings and rebellions, led by army officers and backed by the political out-groups, occurred. Incumbent regimes were toppled by military force at an average of better than once per year.[4] Predatory militarism was rampant. In 1821, there were nearly five thousand officers for the eight thousand enlisted men stationed in the capital. In 1823, when the total government revenues were five million dollars, the armed forces budget was nine million. During Mexico's first quarter century of independence, the military budget exceeded government revenues two out of every three years.[5]

The armed forces were completely beyond civilian control. Their legal privileges and exemptions of the colonial era continued in force. On threat of rebellion, they demanded and got the lion's share of the budget. The philosophy that predominated among the ambitious is described by Gruening as follows:

> . . . good faith, merit, constancy and hard work were not only unappreciated but detrimental to an ambitious young man. Chicanery brought richer rewards. A lieutenant who participated in half a dozen *cuartelazos* [barrack uprisings] almost certainly emerged a general. A successful *levantamiento* [uprising] erased a previous defalcation. The risks were not great —except for a few hours—and far preferable to years of patient drudgery. Thus was the atmosphere of public life vitiated. Honorable men had no chance in it, for the successful tricksters wanted men of like stamp to further their common base ends. Even civilians were given high army commissions. So the officer caste grew, exempt from and above the civil law, an arrogant coterie of debauchées, reveling by night and conspiring by day.[6]

The most notorious of these predatory military adventurers was General López de Santa Anna. For over a quarter of a century, he capriciously made and unmade governments. In fact, the political narrative of Mexico up to 1855 can practically be written as the history of General Santa Anna's revolutions.

4. Frank Tannenbaum, *Peace by Revolution* (New York, 1933), pp. 75-76, 92-93.

5. Alamán, *op. cit.*, V: 499; Francisco Bulnes, *Las grandes mentiras de nuestra historia* (Mexico City, 1904), pp. 210-211.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

In the 1850's and 1860's, a group of civilians led by Benito Juárez began to make some progress in curbing militarism and subordinating the military to civil authority. After a generation of conflict over this issue, a military man, General Porfirio Díaz, finally established control over the army and achieved political stability. Frank Tannenbaum explains he did this "by replacing instability and disorganized violence with tyranny and organized violence."[7]

Pacifying and disciplining the hitherto untractable officer corps took patience, astuteness, and application of a liberal variety of Machiavellian techniques. Those rivals too dangerous to crush immediately, Díaz quieted by providing them with unlimited opportunities for graft and plunder. Those he was prepared to tackle, he deliberately offended, then crushed and exiled them. Gradually, but steadily, he ousted one quarter of the army's one hundred generals and dismissed some four hundred officers of lower rank. He attempted to purchase the loyalty of the remainder by granting them generous salaries and expense accounts and providing them with opportunities for self-enrichment. To further insure their fidelity, he established a system of shifting commands in the nation's eleven newly organized military zones. To prevent any officer from gaining the personal allegiance of a large body of enlisted men, he extended this periodic change of officer duty down to the regimental level. Potential rivals were "promoted" to governorships or cashiered on charges of corruption. By 1892, after a dozen years of effort, the army was finally under Díaz's firm control.[8]

That Díaz was able to accomplish the miracle of disciplining the Mexican army was certainly a tribute to his courage, astuteness and administrative talents, but it was largely the great influx of foreign capital in the late nineteenth century which came in partly as a result of Díaz's initial pacification that enabled the dictator to provide his would-be rivals with the material benefits so essential to keeping subdued their latent aspirations for political power.

7. Frank Tannenbaum, *Mexico; the Struggle for Peace and Bread* (New York, 1950) pp. 81-82.

8. Carleton Beals, *Porfirio Díaz* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 223-255, 287, 289; Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America* (New York, 1955), p. 342.

In addition, the rapid development of modern communications made it far easier to stamp out incipient rebellions. Also, much of the material gain of the officer corps was at the expense of the enlisted men. The latter were a miserable lot of conscripts, virtually imprisoned in the barracks, poorly fed, ill-housed, and subjected to cruel punishment and crude exploitation. Thus, the problem of disciplining the officer corps aside, Díaz really brought about no intrinsic change in Mexico's armed forces.[9] They were adequate, along with the *rurales* (mounted constabulary) for performing police functions and quelling isolated disturbances, but when the popular revolution broke out in 1910, the vaunted capabilities of the Díaz army and the asserted loyalty of its officer corps proved to be fictitious. The army in reality proved to be but a fragile shell.

On the eve of the 1910 revolution when the total population was about fourteen million, the Mexican army consisted of some four thousand officers, twenty thousand enlisted men, and four thousand rural mounted police. The army was organized on a definite caste system. It was generally officered by upper and upper-middle group white officers, most of whom were graduates of the Chapúltepec military school, which turned out about sixty cadets annually. Contemporary observers were impressed with the quality of the school and character of its cadets. However, it ought to be noted that although there was some incidental French influence and German equipment in the army, Mexico did not employ a foreign military mission and rarely sent her officers abroad to study. Consequently she was backward in modern military techniques and equipment. The ranks were predominantly filled with primitive Indian stock generally brought in by forced conscription, and they included a goodly number of miserable vagabonds, beggars and criminals. The small navy was weak and insignificant.[10] Ostensibly, the mission of the armed forces was to repel foreign invaders; its actual mission

9. Gruening, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302; Herring, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

10. Chas. M. Jerram, *Armies of the World* (London, 1899), pp. 206-207, 299; Thomas A. Janvier, "The Mexican Army," in *The Armies of Today* (New York, 1893), pp. 366-396; Percy A. Martin, *Mexico in the Twentieth Century* (London, 2 vols, 1907), II: 42-43.

was to crush all internal opposition to Díaz and perpetuate the dictator in power. It really lacked the capabilities for doing either.

The storm that broke in 1910 was not just another local rebellion or barracks revolt, but rather a fundamental social revolution with broad popular participation. Ultimately it was to bring about sweeping social and economic change, as well as political change. All the same, Mexico was to return once more to the chaotic pre-Díaz military conditions. Again irresponsible militarism was to hold sway over politics and to prey upon the nation's economy and society.

The 1910 electoral dispute was the spark that set aflame the latent popular antagonism to the Díaz regime. Generally under the leadership of middle group citizens who gathered small bands of followers about them, uprisings began to occur spontaneously in scattered areas, and the movement began to snowball. When the weakness of the regular army became apparent, an increasing number of officers deserted the regime and joined the revolutionary forces. They were impressed both by the power of the revolutionary forces and the pressure of public opinion. Their object obviously was to emerge on the winning side.[11] With the help of the regulars, the Díaz regime was thus overthrown and Francísco Madero assumed the presidency. Almost immediately, however, he was plagued by the problem of the army. Only the regulars loyal to Díaz had been crushed, but most of the army had joined in ousting Díaz and now claimed their rewards. However, they were challenged by revolutionary citizen-generals who were demanding to be made generals in the regular army.[12] Madero made the mistake of siding with the regulars and disbanding the revolutionary army. His reward was assassination at the hands of former Díaz henchmen, and General Victoriano Huerta thereupon attempted to reimpose a Díaz-type regime.

This action not only outraged and stirred to action the former revolutionary generals but stimulated the rise of new

11. Gruening, *op. cit.*, p. 302; Tannenbaum, *Mexico; the Struggle for Peace and Bread*, pp. 62-63.

12. Charles Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution; Genesis under Madero* (Austin, 1952), pp. 159-160; Silva Herzog, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

leaders as well. And thus the Constitutionalist army was formed in March of 1913. In this force one found almost no regulars, but rather civilian leaders like Alvaro Obregón who displayed a natural talent for soldiering, and skilled military adventurers like Pancho Villa. A former state governor, Venustiano Carranza, assumed command of the movement. The revolutionary force drove down from the North, virtually annihilated the regulars and took command of the capital.

But the citizen-generals were no more immune to political rivalry and ambition than their old class-conscious predecessors. Almost immediately, the victors were squabbling over the spoils. Militarism returned to Mexico with vengeance as Pancho Villa, whose private army was even larger than the entire regular army had been under Díaz, challenged Carranza's authority. Only by making use of apolitical, professional regular officers, and by enlisting the support of popular labor and agrarian forces through promises of real social reform, was Carranza able to crush Villa in March of 1915.

Though Carranza was now the dominant force, he by no means had absolute control. The nation was armed to the teeth and equipped with a superabundance of improvised generals. The regular army had disappeared, but there was no real national army to take its place. Instead there were a whole series of separate revolutionary armies, each claiming a large degree of autonomous power.

Carranza had tried desperately to establish firm centralized control of the army but was finally forced to sanction a certain measure of regional autonomy. Then too, he was overly tolerant of the excesses committed by a large, irresponsible group of "loyal" young officers in the capital. This, along with Carranza's attempt to dictate his successor, turned Generals Obregón, Calles and the bulk of the army against him. He was driven from office and murdered by one of his closest military colleagues.[13]

1920 is a key year in the evolution of Mexico's armed forces. It marks the last successful military coup in Mexico's

13. Gruening, *op. cit.*, p. 311-315; Tannenbaum, *Mexico; the Struggle for Peace and Bread*, pp. 62-63.

history. The militarism of the revolutionary period had reached its high point, and ever since it has steadily declined. The Mexican army, one of the most political and unprofessional in all Latin America in 1920, evolved gradually into one of the most apolitical and professional by the year 1940. Credit for this reform must go mainly to four strong revolutionary generals (Obregón, Calles, Amaro, and Cárdenas) who together spent an entire generation accomplishing this extremely difficult task.

What was the army like in 1920? After ten years of revolutionary turbulence the curse of militarism upon the Mexican political scene was worse than ever. Carranza had been unable to bridle the generals. Around 80,000 men, or more than double the number of 1910, were under arms. The army still consisted of poorly organized and badly disciplined, semi-autonomous revolutionary bands and was notoriously overstaffed. The ranks were filled by a motley volunteer assortment of adventurers, vagabonds, bandits, and loyal personal followers of various revolutionary leaders. There were no regulation uniforms, arms, training, or tactics. The size of the army rose and fell in response to political ambitions of the revolutionary leaders.

The officer corps, a most unprofessional body, was headed by the scandalously young, bellicose generals of the revolution. Though there were some Díaz trained professionals scattered through the various units, they wielded relatively little influence in comparison to the victorious political officers of the revolution. The latter, of course, were completely without professional training and were ignorant of modern military science and orthodox techniques of training, tactics, organization and discipline.[14]

The main tasks facing the central government were somehow to curb the regional caudillos, to cut down on the heavy annual military expenditures, to reorganize the army, to begin building it into a truly national institution. To inaugurate this difficult program there was probably no better man than General Obregón, one of the best of the revolutionary gen-

14. Vicente Blasco Ibañez, *El militarismo mejicano* (Valencia, 1920), pp. 177-192; Virginia Prewitt, "The Mexican Army," in *Foreign Affairs*, Apr. 1941, pp. 609-612.

erals and the man who succeeded Carranza as president. His heroic role in the revolution had gained him a broad popular following and great prestige in the army. He alone commanded sufficient respect combined with the necessary force of character to have a chance of tethering the young mustang generals of the revolution. He somehow had to convince them that the army was no longer a revolutionary instrument, and that henceforth their careers depended upon their loyalty and service to the incumbent government.[15]

Obregón moved cautiously but deliberately to establish control at the center. His first major move was to incorporate all the revolutionary generals into the regular army and put them on the federal payroll. However, these attempts to extend his authority provoked resistance among a number of generals who believed their real interest lay in a continuance of semi-autonomy and unbridled militarism. The Obregón government was very nearly toppled by the de la Huerta-led generals' conspiracy of 1923.[16] However, Obregón promptly followed up his narrow victory by a thorough purge of all suspects. Many officers were shot, others were sent into exile, and a number of the vacancies were filled by young professionals coming out of the newly organized officer training school. For Obregón, in addition to curbing militarism, had energetically promoted professionalism. Already under Carranza, in 1917, he had set up a general staff school, in which officers of the revolution received technical training from Díaz regime officers. And when he became President in 1920, he reopened the old Colegio Militar at Chapúltepec for new young officers. A three-year curriculum was established offering specialization for infantry, cavalry, or artillery officers.[17] In addition he began dispatching promising young officers to Spain, France, Germany, and the United States to study modern military methods and techniques. He also succeeded in easing the military burden on the federal budget

15. Tannenbaum, *Mexico; the Struggle for Peace and Bread*, p. 63; Gruening, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-322; Prewitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 612.

16. Gruening, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-322; Tannenbaum, *Mexico; the Struggle for Peace and Bread*, p. 63.

17. Prewitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 613; Fritz Epstein, Foreign Military Missions in Latin America (Manuscript in Library of Congress, Washington, 1944), p. 206.

by reducing the size of the army and curbing graft and corruption. Expenditures for the armed forces were reduced from 142 million pesos in 1921 to 117 million in 1924. Obregón had thus made progress in resolving the army problem, but militarism was to remain a major problem for his successors, for in the course of crushing the Huerta revolt, he found it expedient to promote twenty-three generals and create fifty-four new ones in order to insure their loyalty.[18]

General Calles' views on the army problem, though similar to Obregón's, were somewhat more advanced than those of his predecessor. Obregón had operated on his backlog of personal prestige capital, but Calles, who was far less of a personal hero among the revolutionary officers, initially sought to de-emphasize *personalismo* and instill in the army a sense of professional, apolitical patriotism. This, he correctly believed, was the only real cure for the disease of militarism. The man he selected as his Secretary of War to transform Mexico's still semi-feudal army into a truly national body was Joaquin Amaro, a young Indian general of the revolution whose pro-professional and anti-militaristic zeal was unmatched.

For six years, War Minister Amaro was given a free hand to straighten out the army, and he did a truly remarkable job.[19] Wisely avoiding a direct challenge to old revolutionary generals he was ultimately determined to break, he began his reforms in the ranks by inaugurating a government-sponsored program to improve recruiting standards, living conditions, and military equipment. He also launched an educational and recreational program. He hoped this would pay off in patriotism and loyalty to the central government rather than to the regional caudillos. One method used by Amaro was to disband the most unreliable armed groups as well as the least desirable individuals within groups. In this manner he was also able to achieve his aim of curbing military expenditures. By 1930, he had reduced the size of the army from about 75,000 to 50,000, and military expendi-

18. Gruening, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-323.

19. Carleton Beals, "The Indian who Sways Mexico's Destiny," in *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1930, V:8.

tures from 107 million pesos to 70 million. He also put the army to work by employing the troops on road building and other public works projects.[20]

Of course, to discipline and organize the armed peasants so that they would be a dependable military asset in times of internal crises, the cooperation of the officer corps was necessary. Again General Amaro avoided a direct onslaught on the revolutionary generals; instead he bored in from the bottom. He stepped-up the training of young officers abroad and sent missions to France, Spain, Italy and the United States to study foreign military organization and methods.

These officers, upon returning to Mexico, became Amaro's advisors, and they assisted him in the job of building up a more efficient general staff organization. The first step toward this end was taken in 1926 with the creation of a Commission of Military Studies, the final one in 1932 with the organization of a War College, under French professional influence, to train the superior senior officers for general staff duty.[21] Meanwhile, the newly organized Colegio Militar was being rapidly improved as the officer trainees began returning from abroad to provide modern technical instruction to the cadets. The latter, upon receiving their commission, would be deliberately assigned to regiments of doubtful loyalty, the obvious object being to impose this loyal government officer between the revolutionary general and his private army.[22]

Once all these reforms were well advanced by Amaro, General Calles was ready to challenge the generals. He deliberately provoked them by launching a policy of shifting commands. This was the crucial step in breaking the force of *personalismo* and militarism amongst the revolutionary generals. There was resistance to this policy, as Calles and Amaro expected, but they were ready for it. The first conspiracy came in 1927 and the regime promptly crushed it and dis-

20. *Ibid.*; Prewitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 613; Gruening, *op. cit.*, p. 322; Mexico. Ministerio de Guerra y Marina, *Memoria*, 1930/31 (p. 10), 1931/32 (p. 10).

21. Epstein, MS cited, p. 206; Mexico. Min. de Guerra y Marina, *Memoria*, 1930/31, pp. 9-10; Mexico. Min. de Guerra y Marina, Dirreccion General de Educacion Militar, *Los estudios de la escuela superior de guerra* (Mexico City, 1934), pp. 24-25, 65, 73-175.

22. Tannenbaum, *Mexico; The Struggle for Peace and Bread*, p. 91; Beals, "The Indian who Sways Mexico's Destiny," *loc. cit.*, p. 8; Virginia Prewitt, *Reportage on Mexico* (New York, 1941), p. 76.

missed all the conspiring generals. Another revolt came in 1929, the so-called Escobar rebellion, and the result was the same. Thousands of loyal peasant troops came quickly to the government's assistance.[23]

The success of the Obregón-Calles reforms is revealed by the declining magnitude of officer defection. In the 1923 outbreak, nearly half supported the rebels, but in 1927 less than a quarter did, and when the final major attempt occurred in 1938, the rebelling caudillo received practically no outside support. Calles thus had broken the power of the regional caudillos. The most dangerous hurdle in bringing about a genuine military reform had now been completed. To his successor, General Lázaro Cárdenas, would go the task of completing the job. There was still much to be done, but the key obstacle had been overcome. The day of the military chieftain, the regional caudillo, had passed.

After Calles crushed the Escobar rebellion, he rapidly consolidated his dictatorship, arranged for a figurehead to succeed him, and he remained the real power behind the scenes until 1934. Since General Cárdenas was also handpicked by Calles, most people expected the Callista dictatorship to continue. But the new president, also a general of the revolution, soon asserted and won his independence. Essentially the source of the trouble was that Cárdenas insisted on deepening the revolution by sweeping land, labor, and social reforms, whereas Calles saw the government's task as simply that of pacifying the country and consolidating the completed revolution.

The break between the two revolutionary generals came in June 1935, when Cárdenas openly refused to accept Calles' suggestions on economic and political policies. The outcome depended primarily on the army. Calles still had the support of most of the active revolutionary generals, but Cárdenas had the backing of a few of the more influential generals, plus that of most of the young elements in the army—both officers and men. In addition he had much the broader popular backing. The tension continued to mount in the latter half

23. Prewitt, "The Mexican Army," *loc. cit.*, p. 13; Beals, "The Indian who Sways Mexico's Destiny," *loc. cit.*, p. 8.

of 1935 until December 15, when Cárdenas suddenly began dismissing pro-Calles senators and top generals, including General Joaquín Amaro. The victory was completed in April of 1936 when Calles himself and a number of supporting generals were forced into exile.[24]

Cárdenas knew he had little chance of getting the army's cooperation with respect to his plans for land and labor reform. For one thing, many revolutionary generals had utilized the opportunities of the post-1914 turmoil to make themselves large property owners and big businessmen. Naturally they would be antagonistic to reforms that might affect their vested interests. Then there was the growing natural conservatism of devoted professionals like Amaro, who felt that Cárdenas' radical policies would give rise to domestic disturbances and thus undo the great progress already made to pacification of the country and consolidation of the revolution.[25] Thus in anticipation of expected army resistance to his policies, Cárdenas began to build up powerful labor and agrarian organizations to serve as counterpoises to the army. He played down the role of the military as the guardian of internal order, instead put the emphasis upon the army's pedagogical and public works functions. He refused to increase the size of the regular army, instead proposed to organize all agrarians into reserves for the Federal army and supported the formation of an independent labor militia. He revealed his apprehension over ambitious generals by shifting commands frequently, by building up support in the ranks through new material and educational benefits, and by providing promising young soldiers the opportunity to become officers.[26]

Cárdenas also did his utmost to spur professionalism and remove the army from politics. In 1934 he inaugurated a six-year program for "the moral and professional advance of the

24. *New York Times*, June 23 (IV:11), Dec. 16 (p. 21), Dec. 22 (IV:6), 1935, & Apr. 11, 1936 (p. 1); Tannenbaum, *Mexico; the Struggle for Peace and Bread*, pp. 74-76, 82-84.

25. *New York Times*, Dec. 22, 1935, IV:6; Frank Kluckholn, "The Army Keeps Hold in Mexico," in *New York Times*, May 29, 1948, IV:6.

26. Kluckholn, "The Army Keeps Hold in Mexico," *loc. cit.*, IV:5; *New York Times*, July 18 (p. 7) & Aug. 17 (p. 2), 1935; Prewitt, "The Mexican Army," *loc. cit.*, p. 614.

army." The following year, all infantry officers below the rank of colonel were given examinations in military science, and those who failed them were sent back to school. In 1936 he made competitive technical examinations a requisite for officer promotion, and that same year he issued a reglamento which specifically proscribed all forms of political activity for officers. The following year, he made it mandatory that officers on active duty give up all civilian employment.[27]

His master stroke at the army's political power came in December of 1937 when he organized a new federated revolutionary party composed of four equal sectors—labor, peasant, military and popular. When his critics accused him of bringing the army into politics he replied: "We did not put the army in politics. It was already there. In fact, it had been dominating the situation, and we did well to reduce its influence to one vote out of four."[28] Thus the army could now be always outvoted. Cárdenas and the party leaders could curb its accustomed political strength by balancing it off against the other three sectors.[29]

The President's military reforms and his radical land and labor policies provoked a certain amount of rightist reaction. General Nicolás Rodríquez, leader of the "Gold Shirts," an incipient Fascist movement in northern Mexico, tried to start an uprising but could get no army backing. The movement was easily crushed by the Cárdenas regime and the general was arrested and deposed. Similarly General Laura Rocha's "Anti-soviet" campaign in the west, in the states of Guadalajara and Jalisco, against Cárdenas' socialistic agrarian and education plans were more annoying than dangerous to the stability of the regime.[30] A far more serious threat came from General Saturnino Cedillo, the last of the regional caudillos. Breaking with Cárdenas in 1937, over both personal and policy differences, Cedillo resigned from the cabinet and returned to his native state of San Luis Potosi and began

27. Ministerio de Guerra y Marina, *Memoria*, 1933/34 (pp. 10-13), 1934/35 (p. 14), 1935/36 (p. 16); Mexico. Presidente, *Reglamento general de deberes militares* (Mexico City, 1936); Prewitt, "The Mexican Army," *loc. cit.*, p. 614.

28. Wm. C. Townshend, *Lázaro Cárdenas* (Ann Arbor, 1952), p. 216.

29. Prewitt, *Reportage on Mexico*, pp. 167-169.

30. *New York Times*, Feb. 11 (p. 4), Mar. 24 (p. 8), Aug. 12 (p. 2), 1936.

drilling his personal army of an estimated 8,000 to 15,000 armed peasants. But again, army defection was not forthcoming, and Cárdenas, taking personal command in the field, had little trouble in crushing the uprising in the spring of 1938, thereby enhancing the prestige and authority of the central government.

Despite their unwillingness to join an armed revolt, a number of the top revolutionary generals and a certain number of the new professional officers continued to balk and protest against Cárdenas' radical land and labor policies. They were especially apprehensive about the extremist new breed of labor leaders like Lombardo Toledano and about the formation of a uniformed workers' militia which outnumbered the army by nearly two to one. A congressional bloc, led partly by revolutionary generals, bitterly fought the Cárdenas-sponsored legislation proposing to strengthen the agrarians and the labor unions.[31] The army's fear of the rising power of labor was revealed in the following public statement released by a group of army colonels on June 29, 1938:

> Lombardo Toledano cannot hide now that he seeks the dissolution of the revolutionary army, and one proof of this is the formation of the so-called workers' militia in order to install a proletarian dictatorship in Mexico. The army is tired of the anti-army calumny by labor leaders like Lombardo who are seeking to fool the workers into starting a fight like that in Spain. The Mexican public may have the secure knowledge that the military officers will put an end to the calumny and violence of perverse leaders who are exploiters of the working class. In good time the army officers will answer their aggressors. We wish it to be known that if our brother officers, in defense of our armed institutions, punish Lombardo we are not guilty since we have been provoked.[32]

Army-labor tensions seemed to be moving towards a crisis in the summer of 1938. In a very real sense the issue was one of control of the party, the revolution, and the state. The battle was between the old Revolutionary army generals in the north, who had been dominant since Carranza's victory in

31. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1938, p. 2; Kluckholn, "The Army Keeps Hold in Mexico," *loc. cit.*, IV:5.

32. *New York Times*, June 30, 1938, p. 15.

1914, and the rising new political elements (the agrarians, or peasantry, and the urban workers) at the center. The latter had grown to maturity during the mid-1930's and were now, with Cárdenas' backing, challenging the generals. Toledano's central Confederation of Labor boldly attacked General Juan Yocupicio, the anti-labor military governor of the State of Sonora, and demanded his dismissal. The Revolutionary Party, no longer controlled by the generals, since Cárdenas reorganized it into four equal sectors in late 1937, moved to expel congressional generals, like Ramon Iturbe, who seemed to be resisting labor-agrarian advances. The CTM's aggressiveness in Monterrey, Mexico's leading industrial center, prompted General Andreu Almazán, the regional military commander, the highest ranking officer in the army and one of the ablest of all the old revolutionary generals, to call on Cárdenas and urge him to curb the activities of labor.[33]

Cárdenas refused to intervene in behalf of his old colleagues, and the lines were thus drawn up for the 1940 political battle. On one side, now outvoted and therefore outside the official party, were ranged the old leaders of the revolution and the conservative landed and business interests. Their candidate was General Almazán. Thirty-four high ranking officers, mostly old generals of the revolution, took leave from active service to campaign for him. The official party also had a general as candidate, Avila Camacho, Cárdenas' Secretary of Defense. But Camacho was no revolutionary hero; instead he represented new labor and agrarian forces. Cárdenas chose Camacho to run because the latter's hold over the younger professional officers gave him the best chance of combatting the army support still enjoyed by the old revolutionary generals' clique.

General Almazán and his supporters were well aware that they had no chance of winning elections managed by the incumbents. Consequently, he began making charges of electoral fraud early in the campaign. He accused the Cárdenas regime of "imposition" of an unwanted official candidate on the people. He issued various warnings and made veiled

33. *Ibid.*, July 17 (p. 22), Aug. 11 (p. 6) & Oct. 16 (p. 33), 1938.

threats at revolt, but the bulk of the army, in contrast to the past, seemed thoroughly bored by politics. The result was that the election was no contest at all, and the threats of Almazán and his supporters were empty ones. General Camacho and the labor-agrarian backed official party won handily over the revolutionary generals and their conservative backers. Several minor post-election conspiracies by the losers were easily quelled.[34] Thus the shift had been completed. Control of Mexico's politics had been taken away from the generals of the revolution and placed in the hands of the new, popular labor-agrarian forces. Camacho delivered the final blows to the political generals soon after his inauguration when he eliminated the military sector from the official party, broke up the military block in Congress, and placed a number of revolutionary generals on the retired list.[35]

Militarism finally throttled, and internal order no longer a serious problem, the Mexican Army could now throw its emphasis upon the more orthodox function of modern armies —namely to protect the nation against possible foreign enemies. And it was primarily for this purpose that the armed forces build-up, with United States assistance and cooperation, occurred during World War II. Under President Camacho, the armed forces were further reorganized, modernized, and professionalized. With the general stability, the accelerated economic development, and the increasing strength and influence of middle class and professional groups, military officers played an ever declining role in public affairs.

In 1946 and 1952 the official party put up civilian candidates which easily defeated the still present and ever "threatening" political generals of the opposition.

Considering the situation in Latin America as a whole, the Mexican army is today a model institution. In accordance with the constitution, it devotes its principal energies to its two fundamental, exclusive functions: 1) the maintenance of internal peace and 2) the provision for external defense.

---

34. *Ibid.*, Jan. 4 (p. 11), Feb. 12 (p. 3), July 4 (p. 4), Aug. 11 (p. 16), Aug. 20 (p. 3), Sept. 14 (p. 5), Oct. 2 (p. 1) & Oct. 3 (p. 9), 1940.

35. Howard Cline, *The United States and Mexico* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 276.

It also performs the important and useful incidental function of collaborating in the country's public works program. It builds barracks, schools, and hospitals, manages reforestation and irrigation projects, and helps keep the roads in good repair. It does not assume its internal security function autonomously, as in so many Latin American countries, but acts only under the orders of the president and the authority of Congress as provided in the Constitution.

In accordance with the law, its personnel in active service surrender their political rights. They may neither participate in public political discussion or meetings, venture public opinion on political matters, nor attempt to exercise political influence over their subordinates, on pain of punishment and dismissal from the service.[36]

The armed forces are by no means completely apolitical, however. Each of the commanders of the nation's thirty-three military zones are political instrumentalities in the sense that they are centralizing agents of the regime at the center. They keep the state authorities in line and preserve order during elections. However, the growing strength of parties independent of the central government reveals that the tyranny of the zone commanders over the state governor and army manipulation of elections is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. Although there are still a number of top armed forces officers who are very influential in the Mexican government today, the military men are in the minority. Only seven out of twenty-nine state governors and only two of eighteen cabinet ministers (Defense and Navy), are military men.[37] Inside the ruling party and inside the government itself, civilian professionals predominate and are the real policy-makers. The army is under their control. They have the power to act without consulting the armed forces on issues that do not concern the military establishment, and they can and do at times, oppose it on military issues. For example, despite the armed forces' desire for assistance and modernized equip-

36. Javier Bazan Perez, *El ejército en la constitución y en la política* (Mexico City, 1952), pp. 11-54; William P. Tucker, *The Mexican Government Today* (Minneapolis, 1957), p. 194.

37. Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Walter Mallory (ed.), *Political Handbook of the World, 1957* (New York, 1957), pp. 134-135.

ment, the civilian authorities were able to overrule the military and reject the signing of a Military Defense Assistance pact with the United States because of popular political pressures.[38]

In accordance with the armed forces' limited function and influence, the civilian authorities have deliberately kept the armed forces small and stationary, around 50,000 over the past quarter century, while the rest of the nation has grown rapidly. Consequently, the armed forces have been receiving a declining percentage of the total national budget (only about 12 per cent today compared with twenty-one per cent in 1940), and they absorb a smaller percentage of the total Gross National Product than the armed forces of any other Latin American country except Costa Rica.[39]

Though the Mexican army ranks very low with respect to its relative political influence in Latin America, its professional rating is high. Modern orthodox methods of organization, instruction and discipline are in use. In general the United States armed forces have served as Mexico's model since the beginning of World War II. This is true with respect to its organization, arms, instruction methods and discipline.[40]

The officer corps, only 3,500 strong, comes mainly from conservative middle class families. The competitive entry examination and the 500-peso admission fee screen out the uneducated and the poor. Officership is now an established and respected profession. The young men plan their careers carefully and obtain their high promotions through dint of *expertise*, professional competence, and merit rather than through political influence as in the past. No longer are their aspirations blocked by the revolutionary generals, who had no knowledge of modern military methods and held down all the top posts largely because of their political records during the revolutionary upheaval of the 1910 and 1920 era.

The capabilities of Mexican armed forces are obviously extremely limited, not only because of their small size, but

38. *Hispanic American Report*, Sept. 1950, p. 13, Jan. 1952, p. 8, July 1953, p. 10.
39. *Inter-American Statistical Yearbook*, 1940.
40. Prewitt, "The Mexican Army," *loc. cit.*, p. 612; Tucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

because of equipment shortages and needs. But its capabilities are adequate for fulfilling its overriding mission—preserving internal order. For defense against threats from a major foreign invader, Mexico knows it can count on United States assistance.

What is important about the armed forces institutions in an underdeveloped country that is trying to modernize is that the army neither act as a serious drag on the economy by its inflated budget requests nor pervert and corrupt politics. In this sense, the Mexican armed forces cannot be condemned. Discipline and control is firmly in the hands of a civilian dominated government and party. Inasmuch as the political influence of the officer corps has continued to decline and professionalism to rise over the past quarter century, it is difficult to see how militarism can become a problem in Mexico again in the foreseeable future. The counter-trends are firm and steady and unlikely to be reversed. Mexico is over the hump. She, fortunately, has solved her armed forces problem. It is one major reason why she has become one of Latin America's most advanced, progressive, developing nations.

GEORGE CURRY AND THE POLITICS OF FOREST CONSERVATION IN NEW MEXICO

By ELMO R. RICHARDSON *

WHEN George Curry assumed the governorship of New Mexico Territory in August, 1907, he was popularly hailed as a harmonizer of the factionalism and discontent which threatened to disrupt the Republican Party there. As a former Rough Rider and military governor in the Philippines, he was a close friend of Theodore Roosevelt who considered Curry "one of the very best men I know anywhere."[1] Although a longtime resident of New Mexico, Curry had been absent from the Territory long enough to avoid the factions which had grown up during the administration of Herbert J. Hagerman in 1906 and 1907. He was therefore, it seemed to Roosevelt, the ideal man to reunite the Party.[2]

The administration of public lands had been the greatest source of disruption among New Mexicans and was the most critical problem facing Curry's administration. Hagerman had thought that he represented Roosevelt's policies but he did not understand the people or conditions in New Mexico. His attempt to institute administrative reforms succeeded only in antagonizing the Party leaders. When Hagerman ratified a "grossly improper" acquisition of public land, Roosevelt demanded and received his resignation. At the same time, the Territory was deluged with investigators from the Departments of Interior and Justice, and their interference in politics and government seemed unwarranted and abusive to many New Mexicans.[3] Resentment against these federal agents crackled forth in a speech by Territorial At-

* Instructor in History, University of Kansas.

1. T. Roosevelt to P. B. Stewart, Apr. 16, 1907, and to O. McHarg, July 31, 1907, printed in Elting E. Morison ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge: 1951-1954), V, 649-650 and fn., 739-741 and fn., hereinafter cited as Morison, *Letters of T.R.* A biographical sketch of Curry is in Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids: 1912), II, 562-563, fn. 472.

2. Morison, *Letters of T.R.*, V, 740, fn.

3. On the Hagerman administration, see Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 549-561. On the land fraud see Roosevelt to Hagerman, May 1, 1907, printed in Morison, *Letters of T.R.*, V, 658-662, and Hagerman to Roosevelt, May 15, 1907, printed in Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 558-559, fn. 468.

torney General Albert B. Fall at Curry's inauguration; Fall believed that the arrival of Curry meant the continued development of resources by New Mexicans and the withdrawal of the investigators.[4]

Although Curry was a personal friend of Roosevelt the President, he did not share the views of Roosevelt the conservationist. He was a stockowner in southern New Mexico where his ranch adjoined the Lincoln National Forest. His views on forest reserve policy, the most important aspect of conservation, were consequently those of the users of the grazing lands in the reserves. These users believed that federal regulations were detrimental and were administered with discrimination against ranchers. Since stockmen were prominent in the economy and politics of the Territory, their view of federal policy generally prevailed among New Mexicans.

In previous years, Miguel A. Otero, the predecessor of Curry and Hagerman, had used his political popularity to maintain a working agreement with federal officials, in spite of local discontent among settlers and ranchers in the Territory.[5] His success was partly due to the comparatively small area which was withdrawn for reserves before 1905. Thereafter, extensive additions to the reserves and a more vigorous administration by Gifford Pinchot's Forest Service combined with the unpopular rule of Hagerman, who carried out Pinchot's directives without question, to intensify the usual discontent on the subject of land and resources. A measure of this discontent was expressed by the New Mexicans who attended the Public Lands Convention, convened by the critics of conservation in Denver in June, 1907. Among them were former Governor Otero and Solomon Luna, one of the leading sheepowners of the Southwest. Although these delegates were not as vociferous in criticism of federal policy as

4. Morison, *Letters of T.R.*, V, 757, fn.

5. Eg.: B. Hermann to M. A. Otero, July 10, 1899, T. Ryan to Otero, Mar. 20, 1899, W. M. Miller to Otero, June 20, 1899, G. Pinchot to Otero, Dec. 10, 1904, Miguel A. Otero Papers, Historical Society of New Mexico. Evidence of local discontent furnished to the writer by L. F. Kneipp, at that time ranger-in-charge of the Pecos River, Jemez and Taos Forest Reserves; see also T. B. Catron to P. Perea, Nov. 23, 1899, Thomas B. Catron Papers, University of New Mexico Library.

some of their fellow westerners, they declared that the users of the forests could best determine their own use policy.[6]

During the first months of his administration, Curry plainly indicated that his public land policy would be based on the realities of local interests rather than upon the enthusiasms of federal agents. When his friend and fellow stockowner, Attorney General Fall, denied that the Alamogordo Lumber Company had fraudulently acquired 20,000 acres of timber lands, Curry firmly supported Fall, vigorously criticized the activities of the federal agents, and went so far as to offer his resignation to Roosevelt. The President believed, however, that Curry's removal would throw New Mexico affairs into chaos, refused to accept the resignation, but instead instructed the federal investigators not to meddle with territorial officials. In October, the case against the Alamogordo Lumber Company was dropped.[7]

Victorious in this first skirmish, Curry turned to the other source of discontent among his fellow New Mexicans: the federal forest policy. In November, after receiving letters of complaint from citizens of Lincoln County, he asked local Forest Service officers to accompany him to the disaffected area to discuss adequate protection of the rights of small settlers, especially those of Mexican descent.[8] But the discontent deepened, and in January, Curry's neighbors in the county claimed that the exclusion policy was ruining the immediate area and causing many families to leave because they could not pay the fees for the use of the reserve.[9] Curry's indignation exploded in a letter to Chief Forester Pinchot that same month. Professing admiration for his work, Curry nevertheless asserted that Pinchot did not understand the problems of the West. In the teeth of the claim that few complaints came from New Mexicans, Curry stated that "practically all

6. *Daily Optic* (Las Vegas), June 19, 1907; *Albuquerque Journal*, June 23, 1907.

7. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Aug. 22, Oct. 26, 1907; G. Curry to O. McHarg and to C. J. Bonaparte, Aug. 17, 1907, George Curry Papers, Historical Society of New Mexico, hereinafter cited as Curry Papers. Roosevelt asked Curry to remove Fall as Attorney General because his usefulness had been "hopelessly impaired" by his remarks at Curry's inauguration. Neither this removal nor the subsequent divergence of views on federal conservation ended the close personal and political friendship between Curry and Fall.

8. D. D. Bronson to G. Curry, Nov. 29, 1907, Curry Papers.

9. J. W. Owen to G. Curry, Jan. 22, 1908, Curry Papers.

the people of New Mexico are opposed to enlarging the reserves now established and are in favor of reducing same." The forest policy, he continued, no matter how desirable in principle, was being administered so as to do injustice to a large number of people. Curry pointedly remarked that the "true friend of the President is the man who tells him of conditions just as they exist." Therefore, since he considered it his primary duty to protect the welfare of the people of the Territory, Curry threatened to appeal beyond Pinchot to Roosevelt and Congress even if it cost him his position as governor.[10] Having gotten his way in the matter of the federal agents, Curry obviously felt that he could again use his friendship with Roosevelt as a weapon. Pinchot, who was even more assured of Roosevelt's trust, told Curry that forest policy was primary to all other considerations, although he meant to attend to the problems which had arisen in New Mexico.[11]

Roosevelt called Curry to Washington in January, 1908, arranged a compromise in order to end Party strife in the Territory, and dropped most of the investigations of alleged land frauds.[12] At the same time, Curry, accompanied by other New Mexicans including sheep baron Luna and Holm O. Bursum, a power in the territorial Republican organization, called on Pinchot to discuss the crucial relationship of forest policy and range control. Some of these New Mexicans considered the defeat of grazing regulations more important than the burning issue of statehood. The immediate result of this conference was the opening to entry of several thousand acres of proposed addition to the national forests south of Albuquerque. These and other examples of Pinchot's "corrected mistakes" pleased Curry immensely, and he in turn consented to the withdrawal of other lands for forest reserves.[13] The

10. G. Curry to G. Pinchot, Jan. 13, 1908, Curry Papers.

11. G. Pinchot to G. Curry, Dec. 28, 1907, Curry Papers.

12. Morison, *Letters of T.R.*, V, 863-864, fn.

13. J. W. Owen to G. Curry, Jan. 22, 1908, Curry to Owen, Jan. 30, 1908, to M. Sanchez, Feb. 11, 1908, to W. H. Andrews, Feb. 11, 1908, G. Pinchot to Curry, Feb. 19, 1908, Curry Papers; W. C. Barnes to H. A. Jastro, Feb. 3, 1908, Jastro to Barnes, Feb. 13, 1908, Will C. Barnes Papers, Arizona Pioneer Historical Society, hereinafter cited as Barnes Papers. Barnes had been inspector of stock for the Territory. He later became assistant to Albert F. Potter, head of the Forest Service Grazing Division, and as such retained the confidence of New Mexican stockgrowers and worked closely with Curry in bringing about their support of the federal forest policy.

coincidence of these two conferences might seem to imply that Pinchot was instructed by Roosevelt to pour additional oil on the troubled waters of New Mexico politics. In view of the integrity of both men, and their devotion to a firm conservation policy, this implication cannot stand. It seems more likely that both the fraud cases and the reserve boundaries were doubtful enough to encourage their abandonment in return for party harmony and for desirable additions to the forest reserves of New Mexico.

These conferences marked the beginning of understanding and friendship between Curry and Pinchot. Thereafter they not only made forest policy acceptable to New Mexicans, but laid the foundation for a new popular view of federal conservation. Curry concluded that New Mexico was more vitally interested than any other western state in the satisfactory administration of resources.[14] Confronted with complaints over use restrictions and forest boundaries in subsequent months, he personally undertook to end local unrest by working with, not against, the federal officials. When, for example, sheepmen of Cuba (New Mexico) petitioned for the elimination of 150,000 acres from nearby national forests, Curry asked Forest Service officials to go to the area. These agents circulated petitions among the local residents to permit those opposed to eliminations to express their opinion also. In spite of misunderstanding and pressure from the sheepmen, and despite propaganda to the effect that the land would be sheeped to death, the resulting boundary adjustments generally satisfied the users of the forests.[15] On an earlier occasion, Curry called Albert F. Potter, an Arizonan who headed the Forest Service Grazing Division, to Santa Fe to consult with him and with representatives of every part of the Territory on the subjects of boundary adjustments and further additions to the reserves.[16] Curry corresponded with forest supervisors on behalf of settlers and promoted consultations between these officers and citizens. He personally investigated local conditions and opinion before confirming or

14. G. Curry to H. W. Kelly, Aug. 6, 1908, Curry Papers.

15. *Albuquerque Journal*, Sept. 9, 1909; C. Hightower to G. Curry, Aug. 31, 1909, E. H. Clapp to Curry, Sep. 15, 20, 1909, Curry Papers.

16. G. Curry to S. Luna, to R. Gallegos, to C. Spiess, and to H. O. Bursum, July 18, 1908, Curry Papers.

temporarily delaying additions to national forests.[17] In all of these actions, he was confident that Pinchot would meet New Mexicans halfway on future forest problems, and he assured his superior, Secretary of the Interior James R. Garfield, that when boundaries were adjusted to exclude non-timbered land, the federal policy would be satisfactory to the people of the Territory.[18]

In the wake of this new attitude of co-operation between New Mexicans and federal officials, Curry publicly displayed his own conversion to conservation. In May 1908, many months before Roosevelt's Conference of Governors on Conservation made its recommendations, Curry established a temporary Territorial Conservation Commission. When the legislature met in March of the following year, this Commission was permanently established in law and an appropriation was made for its activities. Some of Curry's original appointees to the Commission included Luna, then President of the New Mexico Sheep Growers Association, a merchant lumberman, and members of the National Committees of both parties.[19] Although eastern conservationists might have viewed such appointments as unwise, Curry exhibited characteristic political wisdom in bringing the interests and influence of the Territory's economic and political leaders into the Commission. He also promoted understanding of federal conservation among New Mexico lawmakers by inviting Pinchot to address the Territorial Legislature in March, 1909. Pinchot also talked with delegations of stockmen in Santa Fe at the same time.[20]

Curry appointed W. A. F. Jones, secretary of the Commission and friend of Pinchot, to be New Mexico's delegate to the first National Conservation Congress held in Spokane, Washington in August, 1909. Jones told the Congress that

17. G. Curry to G. Pinchot, Jan. 19, 1909, to A. Montes, Feb. 6, 1909, A. C. Rangland to Curry, Jan. 15, 1909, L. A. Hughes to Curry, Aug. 20, 1909, J. B. Adams to Curry, Jan. 27, 1909, Curry Papers.

18. G. Curry to J. R. Garfield, Aug. 22, 1908, Curry Papers.

19. G. Curry to S. Luna, July 17, 1908, to T. R. Shipp, Aug. 6, 1908, to H. W. Kelly and A. A. Jones, Aug. 6, 1908, Curry Papers; *Proceedings of the Legislative Council of . . . New Mexico, Thirty Fifth Session* (Santa Fe: 1909), 8-42; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Mar. 19, 1909.

20. G. Curry to G. Pinchot, Mar. 2, 1909, A. F. Potter to Curry, Mar. 2, 1909, W. H. Andrews to Curry, Mar. 1, 1909, Curry Papers.

New Mexicans were "more than satisfied" with the Forest Service and the Department of the Interior in their administration of conservation.[21] Curry was justly proud of his part in bringing about that attitude. "I think our joint efforts," he wrote Pinchot, "have been the means of making the forestry service in New Mexico more popular than ever."[22] An editorial in the usually critical *Santa Fe New Mexican* testified, although grudgingly, that this popular acceptance of policy was real. The editor had "a sneaking suspicion" that there were still great amounts of grazing lands which should be eliminated from the reserves, but he asserted that New Mexico had "slowly and unwillingly learned that the forest reserves are good for it and its people."[23]

George Curry's relationship with the federal administration during the last year of his governorship was marred by a heated controversy with Roosevelt's successor, William H. Taft, and Taft's Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger. Early in 1909, Curry asked permission to come to Washington to urge adoption of the statehood bill and to settle outstanding conservation matters. Ballinger denied him this permission and Curry, who had been an admirer of Taft's, took this as a sign of no confidence and sent in his resignation. After correspondence and consultations, he agreed to remain in office.[24] His own confidence in the new administration was nevertheless profoundly damaged, and he had no difficulty in choosing sides when Taft dismissed Pinchot in January, 1910, after the latter's controversy with Ballinger. In a letter to his friend on this latter occasion, Curry recalled the "feeling of hostility to the forestry policy of the Roosevelt administration" which he had had when he assumed the governorship in 1907, and admitted to Pinchot that he had subsequently realized that he had been "absolutely wrong."[25]

Curry was glad to get out of the governor's office so that he could be "absolutely free" to do what he considered best

21. W. A. F. Jones to G. Curry, Aug. 26, 1909, Curry Papers.

22. G. Curry to G. Pinchot, Dec. 22, 1909, Curry Papers.

23. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Jan. 20, 1910.

24. G. Curry to A. F. Potter, Nov. 21, 1908, to G. Pinchot, Feb. 6, 1909, to A. B. Fall, Jan. 4, Mar. 22, 1909, to W. H. Taft, Mar. 22, 23, 1909, Curry Papers.

25. G. Curry to G. Pinchot, Jan. 12, 1910, Curry Papers.

in the growing schism in the Republican Party: that is, to support Roosevelt if the latter decided to run for the presidency again in 1912.[26] His adherence to Progressive Republicanism was confirmed by his close friendships with Pinchot and Roosevelt; he was elected to Congress in 1911 and then gave Roosevelt early and vigorous support during the summer and fall of 1912.[27] As private citizen, he continued to prove his adherence to conservation by offering his knowledge of what would be acceptable to the people in the solution of resource problems in New Mexico.[28] Curry's official career clearly exemplified the essential role of the political leader in the satisfactory application of conservation in the West.

---

26. G. Curry to C. Lyon, Jan. 11, 1910, Curry Papers.

27. T. Roosevelt to W. H. H. Llewellyn, Nov. 14, 1911, to B. M. Cutting, June 14, 1912, printed in Morison, *Letters of T.R.*, VII, 435, 561-562 and fn., 575 fn.

28. Eg.: G. Curry to A. C. Ringland, Jan. 12, 1910, Curry Papers; Curry to W. C. Barnes, Dec. 9, 1912, Barnes Papers.

THE REPORT OF FRAY ALONSO DE POSADA IN RELATION TO QUIVIRA AND TEGUAYO

By S. LYMAN TYLER* *and* H. DARREL TAYLOR

Introduction

Fray Alonso de Posada apparently arrived in New Mexico in 1650. From 1650 to 1660 he served as a missionary in various New Mexican pueblos, some of them in the most remote areas in the province. During this ten years he not only became well acquainted with New Mexico but learned much from the Indians of the areas beyond in the interior of North America.

From 1661 to 1665 Fray Alonso was Custodian of the *Custodia de la Conversión de San Pablo del Nuevo México.* In this assignment he was in a position to gain information from the reports of all the missionaries of the *Custodia* whom he directed.

Don Diego de Peñalosa Briceño y Berdugo, an adventurer from Peru, arrived in New Mexico as governor of that province in 1661. From 1661 to 1664 there was much contention between the governor and Fray Alonso, but bad blood between the civil and ecclesiastical officials was not uncommon in New Mexico during the seventeenth century.

Don Diego visited Zuñi and Moqui and heard of Teguayo through an Indian of Jémez Pueblo who had been a captive there. He also acquired a knowledge of Quivira, of the land of the Tejas Indians, and of *Cerro Azul,* and planned to visit each of these places. His constant troubles with the *frailes* eventually resulted in charges being brought against him by the Inquisition.

Don Diego left New Mexico in 1664. The next year he arrived in Mexico City to answer the charges brought by the Inquisition. From 1665 to 1668 he was their prisoner. During this period Don Diego tried in vain to persuade the viceroy to allow him to lead an expedition into the country lying

* S. Lyman Tyler is Professor of History and Director of Libraries at the Brigham Young University. H. Darrel Taylor is Professor of Spanish Literature at the Brigham Young University.

beyond New Mexico in the interior of North America, the lands of Quivira and Teguayo.

In 1668 Don Diego de Peñalosa was presented as a penitent in an *Auto de Fe,* fined, deprived of the right to hold military or political office, then perpetually exiled from New Spain and the Windward Islands. Degraded and an exile, Don Diego went first to London and then to Paris seeking to peddle the idea that he had failed to sell to the viceroy in New Spain.

By 1678 the Spanish King had heard of Don Diego's activity and sent the following dispatch to his viceroy in New Spain to enquire about the area then under discussion at the French court:

> Very Reverend in Christ, Father Fray Payo de Rivera, archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, member of my council, my viceroy, governor, and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain and president of my royal audiencia of those provinces (*ad interim*), or to the person, or persons, in whose charge may be its government. In my royal Council of the Indies, information has been received that Don Diego de Peñalosa (who wears the attire of a knight of Alcántara, and is called the Count of Santa Fé), a native of Lima, is in Paris and that the cause of being in that court has resulted from some embarrassing experiences which as governor of New Mexico (in the administration of the viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera, your predecessor) he had with the Tribunal of the Inquisition. It imprisoned him, confiscated his property, and he left, deprived of his office and exiled from that kingdom. From there he went to England, and from there to Paris where he has been for five years. He has married a French woman and he has given a paper to the Most Christian King concerning the conquest and discovery of the provinces of Quivira and Tagayo (that is, Tehuayo) assuring them that they are very rich in silver and gold, offering to go himself with the fleet on account of being very well informed concerning all the Indies. Furthermore, he has been given a reply to the effect that with the present war waging it would not be possible to discuss the enterprise, but that as soon as there was peace it would be considered. Therefore, it is hopeful that with peace his advice may be carried out, etc. . . . Dated, Madrid, on the 10th of December, 1678. I, the King. By order of the king our Lord, Don José de Veita y Linage.[1]

1. C. W. Hackett, ed., *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (4 vols., Austin, Texas, 1931-1946), I, 156.

Unaware of the international intrigue that had resulted from the activities of Don Diego, a group of Frenchmen under La Salle left New France, descended the Mississippi River, discovered its mouth, then sailed to France to seek permission from the king to further explore and to colonize that area. The French Government apparently made the information it had received from Don Diego available to La Salle.

In 1682, Don Diego proposed to the representatives of Louis XIV that a French settlement be established at the mouth of the Río Grande, only to be rebuffed. In 1684, when La Salle was already preparing his expedition to the Mississippi's mouth, Don Diego made a new proposal. This time he would seize Tampico and make it a base for the conquest of the rich mines of Santa Barbara. When it had obtained Don Diego's "secrets and information," the French cabinet "rejected him, and communicated them to La Salle in order that he, through his sagacity, might carry out everything that . . . [Don Diego de Peñalosa] promised."[2]

The Council of the Indies gained information of this further action being taken by the French and, in 1685, again requested a report on these northern provinces of Quivira and Teguayo. Fray Alonso de Posada fell heir to the task of writing this report. It was begun in 1686 and completed either that year or the next.

The report probably did not reach Spain until any danger that may have threatened because of the activities of La Salle had passed. Spain, however, dispatched men to search for the colony established by La Salle and to strengthen the Spanish frontier in that region. This was the first move toward eventual Spanish occupation of Texas.

La Salle's forces (about four hundred men) had landed on Matagordas Bay rather than at the mouth of the Mississippi. A settlement was made on the Lavaca River, from which they attempted to reach the Mississippi overland. When this failed La Salle tried to lead his men to New France. Disgruntled because of the hardships they had to endure and

2. *Ibid.*, 158-159.

dissatisfied with his leadership, some of La Salle's men conspired to kill him and rid themselves of his autocratic rule.

Without a leader the group could not be held together. Some of the men made their way back to France, others stayed in that area, some remaining with the Indians and some finding their way to Spanish New Mexico, still others eventually managed to reach New France, where, we are told, they encountered Baron Lahontan.[3] This spinner of yarns quite likely used the stories he heard from La Salle's men of their own experiences, plus what information they imparted to him of Don Diego de Peñalosa's account of Quivira and Teguayo, to weave the tale of the great lake of salt at the end of the Long River in the area north of New Mexico.[4]

One myth often begets another.

The Situation of Quivira and Teguayo[1]

Fray Alonso de Posada (who is of the Regular Order of Our Father, San Francisco, and who was the regular *Custodio* of the New Mexican *Custodia* as long as Don Diego de Peñalosa governed in those provinces and kingdoms, and who previously was a missionary for ten years in that *Custodia* and who served as Minister on the more remote frontiers of those provinces, where he acquired information about the lands from the infidel Indians, and who is the present *Definidor* of this Province of *Santo Evangelio* and *Procurador General* for the brethren of his order in this court of Mexico) says:[2]

---

3. Baron de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America* (2 vols., Chicago, 1905), I, xxxviii-xliii.

4. S. Lyman Tyler, "The Myth of the Lake of Copala and Land of Teguayo," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XX (1952), 313-329.

1. There is a manuscript copy of this document in the Archivo General de la Nación México. Historia, Tomo 3. The microfilm copy consulted was supplied by Professor France V. Scholes of the University of New Mexico. For comparative purposes we also used the following published version which reproduces the above document in part: Fray Alonso de Posadas, "Informe a Su Majestad sobre las tierras de Nuevo Mejixo, Quivira y Teguayo," in Cesareo Fernández Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa y su Descubrimiento del Reino de Quivira* (Madrid, 1882), 53-57. The manuscript document gave the name as Posada, the printed version Posadas. We have followed the manuscript.

2. The ecclesiastical organization of the Franciscans in New Spain is referred to as the *Provincia de Santo Evangelio* (Province of the Holy Gospel). That of New Mexico is the *Custodia de la Conversión de San Pablo* (Custody of the Conversion of Saint Paul.) The *Custodia* is an administrative area in the Franciscan ecclesiastical organization. The *Custodio* (Custodian or Guardian) is administrator in the *Custodia*. As *Definidor* and *Procurador General* Fray Alonso was a member of the governing body and in charge of procurement for the order in New Spain.

A Royal Decree addressed to His Excellency, the *Virrey Arzobispo* came to his attention. This decree was dated December 10, 1678, and was forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy, Marqués de la Laguna and Conde de Paredes, on August 2, 1685, last year. In this decree appears a report received by the *Consejo Real de las Indias.* It is a report about a proposition which Don Diego de Peñalosa made to the Most Christian King [of France] about the conquest and discovery of the Kingdoms of Quivira and Teguayo, which is the one that he calls Tátago.[3] In the report he says that the lands of these kingdoms are very rich in silver and gold, plentiful in foodstuffs and well populated. In this report he offered to go to conquer these lands with the armada on the basis that he knows a great deal about all the Indies and that additional information had come to him from some French prisoners who said they had been to that outpost with some ships of a French Captain named Monsieur de Bobochiut.[4] In the report it appears that the Most Christian King expects to put said proposal into effect, and, nevertheless, as is mentioned in another *Cédula,* this information about Quivira and Teguayo is doubted. Wherefore, the "Memorial" written by Fray Alonso de Benavides, *Custodio* of the New Mexican *Custodia* is inserted in said *Cédula* dated 1630 in which he refers to the information which he learned while he was in these provinces of New Mexico.[5]

He gives account of the wealth in gold and silver in Quivira and Teguayo and the other nations which Your Majesty (May God protect you) ordered according to the Royal Decree (in which you command that you be informed with secrecy, faithfully and with specific attention to detail and clarity on the matters specified therein and also upon any other matters that seem advisable). And, if it will be [advisable] or not to open the communication proposed by said Fray

3. Fray Alonso thought of Teguayo as that area north of present Arizona and New Mexico and west of the Rocky Mountains, and of Quivira as east of the Rocky Mountains both north and south of the Arkansas River.

4. A footnote to this document published in Duro, *op. cit.,* gives Beaujeu for Bobochiut. It was a Captain Beaujeu that landed La Salle and his company at Matagordas Bay.

5. Benavides was in New Mexico from 1625 to 1629. The document referred to is *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides,* 1630. This was translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, annotated by F. W. Hodge and C. F. Lummis (Chicago, 1916).

Alonzo de Benavides by way of the Bay of *Espíritu Santo,* what advantages or disadvantages there could probably be for the execution of this plan (whatever they may be and whatever causes may have inspired them, what means might be employed to obtain this purpose [goal] and what means there could be with which one might make the try). There probably are churchmen in this kingdom who will be willing to go out to these fields of missionary endeavor. One wonders if there might be a more useful and easier way [than by the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*] through the provinces of Florida, or if, because of the proximity of land and sea of Florida to French and English populations to the north, some danger may be feared from these nations.

Experience is the best teacher and points the way to the best means to a given end, and reason plus prudence foresees difficulties beforehand [and] thus serves as a guide to the goal desired, and predisposes success in important matters. Information is necessary before the most advisable course of action may be selected. It seems to me that the most trustworthy information presently available is the following:

The town of Santa Fé, the center of New Mexico, is at thirty-seven degrees [north latitude] in a straight line from the south. The sea is two hundred leagues west. The *Adelantado,* Don Juan de Oñate, discovered the sea in 1605. He had soldiers and churchmen of my holy religion and Fray Francisco de Escobar, Father Preacher and friar, with him as president. For a guide on his journey he had the river called *el Grande,*[6] which has its source in the mountains to the north of Santa Fé at twenty-eight degrees.[7] The river flows west and meets the sea at the small bay in the interior of California.[8] On the banks of this river the Indians of many nations visited the *Adelantado* Oñate. Among these Indians were two who said they came from the Kingdoms of Teguayo. When they saw the captain eating on a silver table service, they said that there was much of the same metal in their

6. Fray Alonso here refers to a combination of the San Juan (which rises in the mountains north of Santa Fe and flows "straight west") and the Colorado. The present Río Grande is referred to as the *Río del Norte* in this document.

7. Should read thirty-eight degrees. The document locates Santa Fé at thirty-seven degrees.

8. The Gulf of California.

land. Since many confuse Quivira with Teguayo, it will be necessary to explain the position of each, the distance between them, and the means of going from one to the other. For this purpose we shall follow the courses of the rivers and direction in which they flow from their sources.

To start with, north of Santa Fé, at thirty-eight and thirty-nine degrees there are some mountain ranges from which rivers flow both east and west, as is the case of the *Grande* [again the Colorado]. Of course, those which flow east are the larger and longer. From the town of Santa Fé to the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean] and Gulf of Mexico (looking straight east) there are probably five hundred leagues; although no one has walked the distance, one might compute this from what has been seen.

The *Río del Norte* [the present Río Grande] has its source in said village of Santa Fé and its waters are straight between the towns of these provinces until they arrive at the mission of our *Señora de Guadalupe,* one hundred leagues to the south, where the Spanish garrison is located.[9] From this point it flows east, declining a little south, and passes through the Indian nations called Mansos, Sumas and Sumanas.[10] The latter neither plant nor harvest, and have a sparse population. At at distance of one hundred leagues from Guadalupe another river joins it.[11] The source of this other river is in the Tepeguana nation[12] which is to the west of the *Real de Minas del Parral.*[13] This river traverses the Indian nations of Taraomara, Conchos, Sublimes and Tobosos, which nations surround the *Real de Minas del Parral,* and then enters the valley of the *Río del Norte.*[14] Therefore the place is called

9. *El Paso del Río del Norte.* Present *Ciudad Juárez.*

10. According to Carl Sauer (*Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico,* Berkeley, California, 1934, pp. 65-76, and maps), the Manso area apparently began north of El Paso along the Río Grande, the Suma followed, lying between the Manso and Jumano, with the Jumano (here given by Posada as Sumana) extending south of the junction of the Conchas and Río Grande in New Mexico and Texas.

11. The Conchas River in Northern Mexico.

12. The Tepehuan Indians occupied an area on both sides of the road south of Durango to Parral. The old route followed by the New Mexico supply train is in some stretches closely paralleled by the present El Paso to Mexico City highway.

13. The present city of Parral, Northern Mexico.

14. The Tarahumar, here listed as Taraomara, the Concho and the Toboso are located by Sauer, *op. cit.,* generally north of Parral in the present state of Chihuahua. Sauer does not locate the Sublimes, who seem to have been a nomadic desert tribe as were the Toboso.

Junta de los Ríos.[15] Last year, 1684, *Maestre de Campo* Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, some soldiers and Fray Father Preacher Nicolás López of the Order of Our Father San Francisco came to this place and found both the land and the climate suitable for planting and harvest.[16] They all saw many Indians such as the Jumanes, Rayados, Oposmes, Poloaques and others.[17] Some of them planted corn, beans, wheat, squash and other seeds. These Indians travel one hundred leagues to the *Real de Minas del Parral* to work in turns at the plantations and mines.

The *Río Del Norte* continues east with a declination to the south. At a distance of ten leagues, the so-called *Río Salado* joins it.[18] The *Salado* also has its source in the above-mentioned mountain ranges of New Mexico which face between east and south. The *Río del Norte* flows in the same direction from this point where the *Salado* joins it with a larger volume of water. It flows through very rough hills that seem to contain minerals. To the south at about sixty leagues is *El Real de Minas de Quencamé.* There are many high hills between the river and this mine. In the same direction about sixty leagues further south, with a similar expanse of one hundred leagues there is the Spanish province of Parras.[19] Its name comes from the fact that there are many grapevines there and wine is made. In the district named, dangerous Indians live. They take the horses of the Spaniards who live to the south. At a distance of sixty leagues farther down the river on the south bank is the New Kingdom of León, with an area of ninety leagues of very rough country. From this spot to the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean] and the Mexican Gulf there is probably a distance of about one hundred leagues. Since its stream is large and swift at that point, they call it the *Río*

15. Also called *La Junta.*

16. Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (New York, 1916), pp. 311-344; "The Mendoza-López Expedition to the Jumanos."

17. The Jumanos, and probably the Rayados as well, were the Jumano. Oposmes and Poloaques are mentioned as being allied with and in the same vicinity as the Concho.

18. The *Río Salado* mentioned here is the Pecos River which rises in Northern New Mexico east of the Río Grande and flows into the Río Grande in southern Texas. The *Salado* or Pecos is referred to in Coronado's time as the Cicuye.

19. In the present state of Coahuila.

Bravo. Its mouth is at twenty-six degrees [North latitude] between Tampico and the Bay of *Espíritu Santo.*

Turning again to the hills and mountains north of Santa Fé, center of New Mexico, in the region northeast of the town called Pecos, there is formed from certain springs another river which flows in a direction between south and east.[20] At a distance of two hundred leagues from its source it parallels the *Río del Norte.* The latter flows into the interior of the Plains of *Sibola* [buffalo plains]. On the north bank, eighty leagues distant from the place we call *Junta de Los Ríos Conchos* and *Norte* is the river we call the *Nueces* because on its banks are many nut trees, mulberry trees, plum trees, wild grapes and other fruits.[21] Due to the river's attractions there are many wild cows called *Sibola,* and land hens, called turkeys in Spain, and all manner of deer. In 1632 some soldiers from New Mexico and the *frailes* Juan de Salas and Diego de Ortega went there. They found the friendly Jumana Indians who showed an inclination toward Christianity. When the Spaniards and Fray Juan de Salas returned to Santa Fé, Fray Juan de Ortega remained six months with the Indians, and no harm befell him.

In the year 1650, Captains Hernán Martín and Diego del Castillo, under orders of General Hernando de la Concha, Governor at that time of the Provinces of New Mexico, left Santa Fé with some soldiers and Christian Indians and after they had gone through another region about two hundred leagues they arrived at this spot on the *Nueces* River in the Jumana Nation. They stayed there six months because the Indians were friendly and because they found more than enough sustenance. In the passing of six months they took from the river a quantity of shells which, on being heated, revealed pearls that, although not as fine as oriental ones, since they were formed in fresh water, gave every appear-

20. The Pecos parallels the *Río del Norte* and flows into the buffalo plains, but the only river rising where it should according to the document and lying northeast of Pecos is the Canadian, which flows east beyond the Conchas Dam Reservoir. Perhaps Posada knew only its headwaters and imagined that it and the present Colorado River of Texas were the same.

21. The Colorado River of Texas seems to answer the description given of the *Nueces* best.

ance of being as good. These Captains traveled downstream on an easterly course with a declination to the south through the Indian nations called the Cuytoas, the Escanjaques and Ahijados.[22] After walking about fifty leagues, they arrived at the border of a nation called Texas.[23] They did not penetrate this territory as they knew it to be very extensive and well populated. This Texas nation goes from north to south the distance between the *Río del Norte* and the *Nueces*, which is probably about a hundred leagues. In width, from east to west, it is probably about the same distance. From the eastern border of this nation to the Coast and the Gulf of Mexico it must be about fifty leagues. These remaining fifty leagues are inhabited by migratory Indians that do not plant nor harvest, for according to the information from near the coast there are many sand dunes and much sandy soil. Through this part of [the land of] the Texas which borders on [the country of] the Quiviras[24] to the north, it is said that both nations have hereditary princes or *caciques*[25] to govern them, and that they plant and harvest corn crops. Their fertile lands are abundantly watered by streams from the north and they enjoy possession of the wild cattle called *sibola* and also the fruits along the *Nueces* River which is their boundary. Among these nations that of the Texas is probably at twenty-eight de-

22. The habitat and identity of the Cuitoa are unknown. The Escanjaque are identified as the Kansa, a Siouan tribe closely related linguistically to the Osage and Quapaw. Their habitat was apparently further south and west at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Later they probably moved up the Smoky Hill River to the Big Blue. Still later, under pressure from the west they continued up the Kansas River until by 1847 they had reached Council Grove. It is suggested that the Ahijados may be identified with the Tawehash, a principal tribe of the Wichita confederacy. This word (Ahijado) is of Spanish origin and probably stems from *ahijar* (to adopt). The "h" is silent and is often dropped. Aijado could mean "adopted ones." There seems to be no positive information that the Aijado and Tawehash are the same.

23. The name Tejas was applied to various Hasinai tribes of the Caddoan confederacy. Among the Hasinai the word meant friends or allies and referred to a group of the Hasinai that were allied against the Apache. The Spanish j and x are often interchanged. Tejas became Texas, and was eventually applied to the Spanish province of Texas.

24. The Wichita, one of the principal tribes of the Caddoan linguistic stock. First contacted by Coronado in 1541, they probably were then located in central Kansas near the big bend of the Arkansas River. From that time they seem to have moved continually south.

25. This is a Cuban word introduced into Mexico by the Spanish and used by them as a title for Indian chieftains in New Spain.

grees.[26] Captains Hernán Martín and Diego del Castillo returned from the borders of the Texas by the same route to Santa Fé ascending to the northern region, from the twenty-eighth degree to the thirty-seventh degree, and a distance of 250 leagues. As soon as they arrived at Santa Fé they showed the pearls they had obtained to General Hernando de la Concha. He sent them to His Excellency the Viceroy by Padre Fray Antonio de Aranda, *Custodio*. The friar arrived at Mexico City where he gave them to the distinguished Conde de Alba de Liste, then the viceroy. The viceroy, after consulting the *Oidores* [judges] of the *Real Audiencia* and the *Fiscal* [Attorney for the Crown], sent a dispatch ordering that the Governor of New Mexico again send soldiers and a captain to command them on an expedition to explore the *Nueces* River and follow its waters to the mouth and then bring truthful reports concerning that land. They were to blaze trails as best they could. This order was carried out by Captain Don Juan de Samiago [Samaniego], *Caballero del Orden de San Juan,* then Governor of said provinces of New Mexico. In the year 1654 he sent the *Sargento Mayor* Don Diego de Guadalajara and thirty soldiers and some two hundred Christian Indians along the specified route. They found many Jumana Indians who warned the *Sargento Mayor* that the Cuitoas, Escanjaques and Ahijados were on the warpath. To verify this information, the *Sargento Mayor* sent Captain Andrés López, some Christian Indians and many Jumana Indians, who willingly accompanied them, to scout the above-mentioned warring nations. *Sargento Mayor,* Don Diego de Guadalajara, remained behind with the rest of his men. After walking some thirty leagues to the east, Captain Andrés López and his company of twelve soldiers, Christian Indians and Jumana Indians, ran across a settlement of Indians of the Cuytoas nation with whom they fought a very fierce battle and learned that Indian bands from the Escanjaques and Ahijados nations were helping the Cuytoas Indians whom

26. Probably should be about thirty degrees. Twenty-eight degrees in this area would place the Texas right on the Gulf, which Posada says is inhabited by unidentified migratory Indians.

they [the Spaniards] were fighting. After a battle lasting almost all one day the victory was won by our men with a loss of very few of our Indians, while many were lost by our adversaries. The victors took two hundred prisoners and booty of bales of hides of antelope, elk and buffalo. They then returned to the camp of the Jumanas on the *Nueces* River where Don Diego de Guadalajara, royal servant, had his post. As soon as these men returned, all the company returned to Santa Fé. *Maestre de Campo* Juan de Mendoza, who was on this journey and in this battle, is now living in this city.[27]

In the year 1606 [1601], the *Adelantado* Don Juan de Oñate, with eighty men well supplied with arms and horses, and with Padre Fray Francisco de Velasco as Chaplain, left Santa Fé with the firm intention of discovering the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean]. He took an easterly route, and after having walked almost three hundred leagues through the plains of *Sibola* he found himself in the Ahijados nation. This nation faces Quivira to the east and almost borders it on its northern frontier, since it is a neighbor to the Texas to the east. The Ahijados received Oñate and his soldiers well. After having rested a few days in that camp, these Ahijados Indians, who were currently at war with the Quiviras, pleaded with Don Juan de Oñate to accompany them to Quivira.

Oñate, either to pay them for their trust, or with cunning scheme to explore that kingdom, decided to accept the request of the Ahijados. More than two thousand Ahijado Indians were with him. As soon as they entered the lands of Quivira some native Indians of that realm appeared to receive the *Adelantado* Oñate and his soldiers, but seeing that their enemies, Indians of Ahijado, accompanied the Spaniards, they, being fearful of some harm, retreated toward the interior of their country. The Ahijado Indians who were accompanying Oñate began to burn the Quivira's houses and fields. When Oñate saw this he prohibited them from doing it. The Ahijado Indians were so angered by this that they turned their arms against the Spaniards and a very hard-fought battle ensued.

27. Fray Alonso de Posada wrote this *Informe* in 1686. This was during the Pueblo Rebellion, when the Spanish had withdrawn to El Paso. Juan Domingo would not have been living at Santa Fé at this time.

More than a thousand Indians died and the rest retreated without one Spaniard being killed.[28] Oñate, having seen that there were many people in Quivira and that it was necessary to cross Quivira to discover the sea, about which he had, as yet, no word, and since he realized that the sea was yet far away, returned to Santa Fé by the same trail he had made on the way out, and he did not discover any more lands.

Since Santa Fé, center of New Mexico, serves us as a guide post to give information about the lands and nations which lie in that territory, one must note that after the hills located at twenty-eight or twenty-nine degrees[29] in a northerly direction from said Santa Fé, at a distance of thirty to forty leagues, is a very high mountain range called *Sierra Blanca*,[30] and farther on in the same direction at fifty-four degrees there are some high and inaccessible mountains which are covered with perpetual snows and are therefore called the *Sierras Nevadas*.[31] They enter and occupy much territory in the equinoctial. They are very wide on the eastern end and come almost to those settlements of foreign nations that are northeast of Florida.[32] These mountains could have been a barrier to prevent their [that is, the French and English] expansion inland. From the slopes of these *Sierras Nevadas* that face in an easterly direction come the rivers that flow into the foreign settlements. One is called the Pobatan and it is located at thirty-eight degrees and the rivers *Chuare* at thirty-five degrees and the *San Lorenzo* and Jordan rivers at thirty-four degrees.[33] From the southern slopes of the before-mentioned mountains, Florida and its surrounding area are watered. And from the slopes that face straight

28. This sounds a little too good to be true, even for the Spanish soldier.

29. This should read thirty-eight or thirty-nine degrees.

30. Reference here is to a perpetually snow-covered peak probably in the Sangre de Cristo Range, since later it is said to be between the *Sierras Nevadas* (Rockies) and the "eastern region."

31. The Rocky Mountains.

32. Some maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries showed the range of mountains here being discussed extending all the way across North America, with rivers running out of them to west, south, and east. This is what Fray Alonso has in mind.

33. Fray Alonso here has reference to the rivers flowing out of this extended range of mountains on the east coast, where the French and English were, and emptying into the Atlantic Ocean. The Pohuatan and the Chuare may possibly be the James and the Roanoke. The Cape Fear River has been identified as Fray Alonso's Jordan, and the San Lorenzo is probably the Peedee.

south the land slopes down to Quivira, and for better understanding it is as follows: The *Sierra Blanca* which is between the *Sierras Nevadas* and the eastern region, forms a river that runs straight east.[34] From the *Sierras Nevadas* another river[35] descends which flows to the south until it joins the latter, from which a great and deep river, the *Grande* (for thus it is called) is formed.[36] This river continues about 250 leagues to the east with slopes on the south bank. It turns sharp south for about thirty leagues and drops away on the right hand entering the center of Quivira. When you consider the direction it takes at this point and the outlet of a river that runs into the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* it would appear that they are one and the same.[37]

In the year 1634, Captain Alonso Vaca with some soldiers left the city of Santa Fé traveling along the eastern rather than the southern course as he did on the other journeys. After having gone almost three hundred leagues in this direction, he arrived at the River *Grande* and wanted to cross over, but the friendly Indians in his company warned him not to, because on the other bank was the Quivira nation.[38] These Indians, after studying sign, told him that those lands were heavily populated with men who planted corn and also enjoyed the *sibola* that lived there. Captain Alonso Vaca, nevertheless, wanted to cross the river and desired to make rafts for the crossing. Again the friendly Indians warned him to watch his step, for no matter how brave he might be, finally he and his companions would be killed. Because of these warnings, Captain Alonso Vaca gave up his plans.

To give a description of the lands of Quivira and its location, we shall derive our information from the position of New Spain. We shall take the headwaters of the *Río Verde*

34. This would be the Arkansas River.

35. The Canadian.

36. The *Grande* here would be the Arkansas after the union of the upper Arkansas and the Canadian.

37. Duro suggests that the *Grande* and the Mississippi are the same. If this is so the Spanish also thought of the Arkansas and the Mississippi as being the same river, which Fray Alonso calls the *Grande*. This is entirely possible since it was not generally known at this time that the French had descended the Mississippi from New France.

38. If Captain Alonso Vaca reached the *Grande* (Arkansas River) in an area where the Quivira were on the other bank, he had not traveled three hundred leagues, but closer to two hundred.

in the direction of the Kingdom of León, always looking north as follows: From the Kingdom of León to the *Río del Norte* it is one hundred leagues with the Sierra de *Quaguila* in between (eight brethren of the Order of Our Father of San Francisco are there [in these mountains of Coahuila]).[39] At the very bank of the *Río del Norte* the Texas nation begins. The coast is on the right hand fifty leagues distant. This nation probably runs to the *Nueces* River on the coast side, as it has been said.[40] Right next to this nation in the same region is Quivira, also a hundred leagues wide as far down as the *Grande* River, which runs through this country.[41] It is probably a hundred leagues from the *Nueces* River to the *Grande*, there in the northern region. Then the nation of Quivira goes on fifty leagues beyond the *Grande* in the same direction, noting always that in the north, as well as the south, it is wider than in the middle. It is bounded by the *Grande* River which flows down from the *Sierras Nevadas* mountains.[42] Many people like to say that Quivira has many cities and the city of Quivira [capital] which gives the country its name is particularly large. They like to say that all these cities are rich in gold and silver. On this point it seems the information is more liberal than precise or true, for there is no one who will affirm, either among our Spaniards or among the neighboring Indians, having seen any amount of these metals which have come from that realm. They [silver and gold] are metals that always have a known origin since they are so highly prized among men that even savages take pride in them for adornment. What is to be presumed is that there could be some minerals, for beyond some of the many rivers which run through those lands the natives who dwell on the river banks do what they used to do in New Spain; they clean some gold and silver from the sands of the rivers (this must be, as the

39. From the headwaters of the river he calls *Verde*, Fray Alonso is taking us across the present state of Coahuila to the Río Grande above the Pecos, for below it is called the *Bravo*.

40. That is, between the *Río del Norte* (present Río Grande) and the *Nueces* (present Colorado River of Texas).

41. The *Grande* here would be the Mississippi. About a hundred leagues (250 miles) east of the *Nueces* (Colorado).

42. Here the *Grande* is the Arkansas River, which acts as a border between the Texas and Quivira nations in this region.

nearest understanding to the knowledge which the Indians of those kingdoms must have, according to their temperament, would indicate as much). It is a fact that the Indians never did benefit from gold and silver as they ought until the Spaniards came. In reference to the great populous cities they refer to (some so great—they say—that they stretch for leagues), it is certain that there are many people, but this is how they live: each Indian has his house and next to it his plot of ground and fields, where he plants and harvests. This makes for a greater inhabited area with less population than one might expect.

So that it may be seen that there can be some trustworthy information it should be noted that the Apacha nation possesses and controls all the plains of *sibola.* The Indians of this nation are so haughty and arrogant and so proud as warriors that they are the common enemy of all the tribes below the northern regions [immediately surrounding New Mexico]. They have struck fear to all other tribes and have overrun, ruined and cast most of them out of their own lands. This tribe occupies, defends and considers itself owner of four hundred leagues of land east and west and two hundred leagues north and south.[43] In some places along their borders they claim even more territory. Its center [that of the Apacha nation] is the plains of Sibola. This nation is confined on the east by the Quiviras [in southern Kansas] with whom they are now and have been continually at war. In the same region [the Apacha nation] also borders on the Texas nation with whom they have always had war. Although the Quivira and Texas nations are wide and have many people, the Apacha nation in the interior [around Santa Fé] bordering these nations along two hundred leagues as mentioned, has not only kept its boundaries [inviolate] but has invaded those of the two other nations.

---

43. As we follow Fray Alonso's description of the Apache Country, beginning with the Quivira northeast of New Mexico he will take us in a complete circle around New Mexico from north to south first, then east to west, then south to north, until the Yuta, north of New Mexico complete the circle. Fray Alonso is in an expansive mood here. We should remember, however, that during the seventeenth century the Ute, Navaho, Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Mohave, Jumano and other nomadic tribes were sometimes referred to as Apache, which meant enemy and was used as the Spanish in Central Mexico used the term Chichimeca. Apache might be used to cover any unidentified nomadic tribe.

When your informant [Posada] was Minister in the town of Pecos a camp of Apacha Indians entered the town to sell hides of antelope and leather and brought with them some captive Indian children from Quivira to trade for horses. When they were asked several different times if they had ever gotten some earrings or bracelets of gold or silver (they always wear these adornments on the left arm) on raids in Quivira or Texas, they agreed to a man that while they had killed important captains and many ordinary Indians too, who were from these nations, none had found on the bodies any such things [adornments]. They said they had found many buffalo skins, elk and antelope hides, maize and fruits. They also said that all the inhabitants of those lands, the women as well as the men, dressed in skins [*gamuza*]. From these reports one sees that there isn't as much gold and silver as is reported.

From the east to the west through the southern region, the Apacha nation borders the following: after the Texas, the Ahijados, the Cuytoas and the Escanjaques in a fifty league district [in southeastern New Mexico and Texas]. Since these are the ones that live along the *Nueces* River the Apacha nation has caused them to retreat to the district of the *Río del Norte,* a district of little less than one hundred leagues. After these nations there comes the Jumana tribe and the others mentioned at the *Junta de los Ríos Norte* and *Conchos.* These also [the Apaches have] dispossessed from their lands by the *Nueces* River and cornered in said spot due to the hostility of war. They also sustain a war with the Desumanas, Sumas, Mansos and others that are living between the Junction of the *Norte* and *Conchos* rivers on the banks of the *Río del Norte* to the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe [present *Ciudad Juárez*]. They also keep the Spanish garrison there very busy and in the same region all the tribes toward Sonora, such as the Jamos and the Carretas, whom they also have dispossessed, and toward Sonora they attack them right from the mountains, however they do it even more from the area about fifty leagues to the north. The Apacha nation has some very fertile and pleasant parcels of land and meadows where many Apachas live. This is in the

Sierra Azul,[44] a range renowned for its riches because its metals have been shown so many times but never taken [that is, fully explored and extracted] because of our neglect and luke-warm attitude.

In the same region the Apacha nation wars against and greatly harms the Sipias nation, which nation is located north of Sinaloa and Sonora and south of the Apachas.[45] The Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe must be one hundred leagues to the east of *el Cuartelejo* [of the Sipias].[46] From there the Apacha nation continues on the said east-west trail in the southern region, to the nation of Coninas.[47] This Coninas tribe is completely subjugated to the Apachas. Passing from south to north about seventy leagues along the river called the Grande (where it has been said there are metals and quicksilver) behind the towns of Moquy, looking eastward a distance of twenty leagues one comes to the Yutas nation, which comes before Teguayo.

The Yutas nation reaches near the South Sea [Pacific Ocean].[48] These Indians are fond of the Spaniard, are well built, brave and energetic, for only these [Yutas] carry on campaigns against the valiant Apachas with a courage equal [to the courage of the Apachas]. They are so steady in battle that through diligent persistence and to maintain their honorable reputation they do not retreat without winning or dying. The *Grande* River [here the San Juan and Colorado] divides Yuta and Apacha. This river guided Don Juan de Oñate to the South Sea [Pacific].

The Apacha nation continues along the *Sierra Blanca,* which is farther on, in the mountains north of New Mexico. Continuing from west to east in a northerly direction these [Apachas] are bordered by the Quivira nation at a distance

---

44. Located by Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, eighteenth century mapmaker in New Mexico, northwest of Moqui (the Hopi country), and below the Colorado River.

45. We should remember that during this period the country north to the Gila River, and sometimes beyond, was thought of as Sonora.

46. In Arizona south of the land of the Coninas (located in the following note).

47. Often referred to as the Conina Apache, these are the Havasupai, of Yuman stock, at this time found along the Colorado River south of the Little Colorado. Miera (cited in note 43), 100 years later, refers to the little Colorado as the *Rio de los Coninas.*

48. The branch of the Yutas referred to as "near the South Sea" would be the ancestors of the Chemehuevi west of the Colorado River in southeastern California.

of fifty leagues. These [the Quivira] are on the other side of that *Grande* River [here the Arkansas] which rises in the *Sierras Nevadas*. On this as well as the other side of the river the Quivira Nation expands greatly. The Apachas are also at war along the frontier they share with the Quiviras.

All the mountain ranges which are within and surrounding New Mexican provinces are considered by the Apachas as their property. The Apachas are so constantly at war with them that usually the Spaniards carry arms. They attack the Indian pueblos from previously prepared ambushes killing the men atrociously and carrying off the women and children as legitimate captives of war. They usually destroy their enemies' corn fields and steal Spanish horses day and night wreaking all other damages their fierce pride can plot. The Indians of this nation who live in the eastern province of New Mexico have and have always had particular care in maintaining peace with the Spaniards in order that they might have commerce with them, having an outlet for their dressed skins and hides. In other areas these same Indians who inhabit said mountains surrounding New Mexico are continually at war with the Spaniards.

This nation, as already mentioned, is the owner and possessor of all the plains of *sibola*, and the center of the abovementioned nations. It is not governed by chiefs or hereditary princes, but rather by those who give proof in war of being the bravest. They use no [idols?] or other base superstitions and only adore the sun with the veneration of a father, for they say they are the children of the sun. They clothe themselves in dressed skins, always wearing shoes, boots and jackets which they take pride in keeping clean. On their travels they carry only bows and arrows. The arrows are sharp and well made and the bows are well proportioned after the Turkish manner. The very sight of such arms distinguishes this tribe from the others. They have wives that they hold in especial esteem and when a woman is caught in adultery they cut her nose to mark her as an adulteress.

It seems that all that can be said at present about these nations [tribes] has been said and there only need be explained

the place, location and region of the Kingdom called Teguayo. To give knowledge about this land let us again begin at thirty-seven degrees in Santa Fé, the center of New Mexico, thence taking a straight line from this place to the northwest region between south and north, crossing the mountains called *Casafuerte* or Navajo[49] one arrives at the *Grande* River [here the San Juan] which goes straight west, a distance of seventy leagues, a land possessed by the Apachas [Navaho], and crossing said *Grande* River one enters the Yutas Nation (warlike people). Crossing through this nation about sixty leagues in the same northwesterly direction, one then enters some hills at about fifty leagues distance and the nation the northern Indians call Teguayo. The Mexican Indians, according to ancient tradition, call it Copala, which in the Mexican language means gathering of many people of different nations. Also according to the ancient tradition it is said that all the Indians of New Spain, not only the Mexican Indians, who were the last, came from there. They mean that Guatemala and all the other realms and provinces of Peru and the other neighboring nations on this continent were peopled from Copala, for only from there, in early times, did they understand that men spread throughout the world. They had no large ships necessary to enter the Strait of Anian with ease. It is certain that the land is so extensive there that it enters beneath the equinoctial.

Many astrologers and cosmographers confuse Teguayo with Gran Quivira, it being that the latter is to the east and borders on the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean] and Teguayo is between the north and south and is bordered by the West Sea [Pacific Ocean]. The many islands, small bays and coves that are in the south are said to be part of Quivira. Since these lands are unknown they [the cosmographers, etc.] do not do much by way of explaining them.

---

49. This probably has reference to the Chuska Mountains. The word *Casafuerte* suggests a stronghold or fortress. Shiprock and the small, flat-topped fortress-like mesas surrounding it might very well acquire the name *Casafuerte*. It is suggested that this may have been the border between the Navaho and Yuta in this region.

[Cf: "Early Navaho Geography," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 31, No. 4 (October, 1956). F. D. R.]

From Teguayo to Quivira going by way of New Mexico and Santa Fe there is a great distance. However, looking at these two nations from fifty degrees in the region beyond New Mexico to the north they could be fairly close [to each other], since Quivira expands greatly inland toward the *Sierras Nevadas* and Teguayo can also be said to expand toward the east and draw near or touch Quivira. The basis for the confusion is that wild cows [buffalo] are found in Teguayo also. These buffalo migrate from one place to another so that both the inhabitants of the east and the west could have them. It is not merely conjecture but certain that there are many people and diverse nations in the Kingdom of Teguayo. All of the northern tribes assure this fact. Don Juanillo, an Indian from the town of Emes [Jemez], especially affirms this. This informant [Posada] being the Minister of that frontier, Juanillo told him several times of having been captive in Teguayan provinces for a period of two years and that there were many people who spoke different languages there, and some that were spoken in New Mexico. He also said there was a large lake populated all around its borders. Many times he told the Governors of New Mexico that if they should go to those provinces he would go with them as guide. Although Captain Francisco Luján asked twice to be allowed to journey there, they would not let him go. This is all that now can be said and known of Teguayo. As a brief resume we shall give the location of the nations below [south of] the north [northern region] according to the mariners needle taking the city of Santa Fé as the central point.

The city of Santa Fé is at thirty-seven degrees on a straight line from north to south (for looking toward the north below its equinoctial the Strait of Anian begins at about seventy degrees). In the region to the east and northeast [of Santa Fé] are the *Sierras Nevadas,* and beyond their expanse, on their slopes, is the gulf called Anian. Its northern headland begins with some bays, deep in places, and having very little water in others. For this reason the said Strait of Anian is very difficult to traverse. At that point [probably on the

Pacific side] said gulf very nearly borders on the land of Portugal,[50] and on the east the Cape of Estotilant, in the land of Labrador. The Cape of Roquesay which is where New France terminates. New France is on the Florida coast and its farthermost border to the northeast where the foreign settlements are; looking some seventy leagues north from said point [Santa Fé] is the Yuta nation and past this at a distance of about 180 leagues the kingdom and provinces of Teguayo.

Looking two hundred leagues directly west are the South Sea [Pacific Ocean] and California. One hundred leagues to the southwest are the villages[51] of the Apacha nation and Sinaloa. Directly to the south about three hundred leagues [from Santa Fé] we find the *Real de Minas del Parral.* To the south-southeast at two hundred leagues [from Santa Fé] is the *Nueces* River which flows through the Ahijado nation, which extends two hundred leagues. The mouth of the *Río Bravo* is 270 leagues away [from Santa Fé] through [the land of] the Texas at twenty-five or thirty degrees. In the region to the east-southeast, at 280 leagues distance [from Santa Fé] are the Buffalo Plains and Quivira and at 150 leagues distance, on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico at twenty-nine and a half degrees, is the Bay of *Espíritu Santo.*

Looking east-southeast at two hundred leagues [from Santa Fé] we come upon the limits of the Buffalo Plains and from this point traversing three hundred leagues along the same parallel is St. Augustine, Florida. Looking from Santa Fé to the east-southeast, we shall find at 150 leagues distance the *Grande* River [here the Arkansas] which descends from the *Sierras Nevadas* and the Nation of Quivira in that region. Four hundred ninety leagues from this point [Santa Fé] at thirty-four degrees, which is in the middle of New France, we shall have for a boundary the bay of *Todos Santos.* Looking to the east at a little more than a hundred leagues is Quivira,

50. This is probably referring to Portuguese territory in the northern Pacific Ocean. Estotilant is shown on some early maps as that region north of Labrador; and Cape Roquesay may be Cape Race, Newfoundland (see Index and charts in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* vol. III).

51. The word is *cuartelejo* which suggests small, ugly barracks, huts, hogans. Such villages are often referred to as *rancherías.*

and across it at two hundred leagues is the land of the Capuchies.[52] From this point along the border of the *Sierras Nevadas,* between south and east, and from that corner we shall find following the same direction at four hundred leagues the Pobatan River (others have called this river the *Nevado* because it is always snowy), and the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* which is at the same thirty-seven degrees as the city of Santa Fé. For the coastal boundary is the *Santiago* [St. James] sand bar, which is the final point of New France and is at thirty-seven degrees. To the east-northeast one hundred leagues distant more or less and going inland this direction to fifty-three degrees we shall find the *Sierras Nevadas* mountains on the south. Beginning at this same latitude along the line [route] to the north-northeast it [the *Sierra Nevada* range] lies, as has been said, with great expansion in width to the north country until it meets that land populated by Englishmen and Frenchmen.

This is all that can be said of the kingdoms and provinces that are below the North in the circumference of New Mexico and its mountains which divide the streams of the rivers, some of which go down to the southern sea and some to the northern sea. Therefore, on the west slopes of the *Sierra Nevada* Range all its waters flow to the South Sea [Pacific] and all the waters on the south slopes run into the North Sea [Atlantic].

Any attempt to tell of or locate all the rivers and streams that there are here and there would be an endless task so only the most important and well-known rivers are mentioned, and since the foregoing information does not give a basis for being able to consider the advisability or inadvisability which there might be in opening up communication through the bay of *Espíritu Santo* to the coast of Florida and Tampico it is offered for what use it might have.

The advantages that there might be and which urge open-

52. *The Handbook of American Indians* gives Capote as a synonym for Capuchies. The Capote are a band of Ute Indians who operated in the area northeast of New Mexico during the Spanish period. As I interpret Fray Alonso here, however, the Capuchies he mentions are somewhere east of the Mississippi River. He may have reference to the Province of Capachequi encountered by De Soto.

ing communication by way of the bay of *Espíritu Santo* are as follows:

First and foremost is the conversion of such a world of barbarous Indians that are in the interior region of the land. It would seem that Our Lord God will take it upon Himself to support this plan, and that He will facilitate its consumation by all His power, and He will provide the ministers that He probably has set apart for the task among the religious orders and other ecclesiastics, for all are equally obliged to aid in so high and noble a ministry. The second [reason is] that by occupying that port, or another nearby, one would prohibit the enemies of any nation whatsoever from getting control of that coast and the lands and kingdoms that border thereon, for there would follow very grave harm and even danger of losing those [lands] already acquired [if they were allowed to do this].

The third advantage is that the food supply is assured for it is well known that the wild cows called *sibolas* are so numerous along all the border lands of the coast and even inland that no matter how many of the [Indian] nations feed upon them, still there are always more than enough, even though the lions, tigers, wolves, bears, and mountain dogs (called coyotes) kill a great many of said cows. The fourth advantage is the hope that can be held out that gold and silver may be found in those lands, and that once these [metals] are put to work they may be of great use. The fifth advantage is that it is now considered a fact that pearls may be taken in the *Nueces* River (which is a sweet water river), and that in the other rivers in the same country and of the same characteristics the same is probably true. If there are [pearls] found [in the rivers] on the slopes [or banks] they will probably be much finer and in greater abundance than those [pearls] found on the coast, because the shells [mollusks] may reflect the difference between sweet and salt water, and, by the same token, because that coast and those rivers that flow to it are sweet and cool and of good quality, it is more than conjecture that there will be [pearls] and that amber may be taken on the coast. The sixth advantage would probably be that the port that would be founded there, because of being within eye-

sight of the center of Mexico, could serve as a sentry [or outpost] from which to observe the enemy and as a shelter for our ships which could be saved from pursuing enemy ships. And it would also probably be an advantage that all along that coast there is an abundance of different fish, and available land for sowing, and other goods which would be needed by the provinces and nearby forts.

The following are the disadvantages:

The first and most important task will be the need to search and sound all the coast, for it could be that there is another port, or ports, which are more suitable for accessibility and [ease of] fortification and which can more easily accommodate large vessels. The Bay of *Espíritu Santo* seems to have inlets on the north according to the map, and on the south, swamps [low lands], and on the land side a cove or small bay thirty leagues in circumference, and in the northern region there are inlets, and in the north also are two small rivers which empty into another small cove. In the southern region there is the Río Grande. Taken together they could be the watershed [*derramadero*] of the northern slopes. Upon searching the other coast it was apparent that there could be no better choice than that which was ordered by his Excellency Señor Marqués de la Laguna, Conde de Paredes and Viceroy of this New Spain.[53]

The second disadvantage is that since some port must be settled whether it be the [port of] *Espíritu Santo* or any other one along the coast, a sufficiently large garrison of soldiers and settlers will surely be necessary so that under all circumstances it can resist invasion and defend itself, not only against the pirates which constantly rove the coasts, but also from any ships which may be sent against them by foreign princes, and also so that there might be on the land side de-

53. Fray Alonso includes two asides here that are very difficult to handle in the text. First, to explain why he is listing some of these items both as advantages and disadvantages, he states that "although they may be useful, they may also be harmful," or if handled correctly these may be to the advantage of Spain, if not they will be to her disadvantage. Second, he states that although those in high office are usually careful to make correct decisions they sometimes, by forcing through their "blind decrees," cause the response to them to be very "lukewarm" if the decrees are carried out at all. I think he is suggesting to those in high places that they should seek advice from those that know what they are talking about, then fellow it, and see that their subordinates follow it.

fense against all the many barbarous Indians from whom one cannot expect to obtain confidence [support] because naturally they will try to defend their land and liberty. Let me warn you that, even though they are barbarians, in military materiel they have been found to be and are very clever.

At the time of any Indian raid [on the proposed port] there will be no possibility of succor by sea or by land because the [proposed] port will be so isolated. To reach it, it [would be] necessary for even the nearest neighbors to spend many days [of travel].[54] On the land side they cannot obtain aid from anyone because they will be so far away from the kingdoms populated by Spaniards with so many barbarous Indians in between, and [because] the lands are cut by many raging rivers and rough mountains.

The third disadvantage is that the fleets and merchant ships may not stop in another port to trade because they have to unload their goods either at Veracruz or Tampico, for at no other places can they merchandise them,[55] and it is even more difficult by overland route because of the previously mentioned difficulties. To ship their goods [in this manner] would be the same as to put them in the hands of the pirates. Neither can wagons nor pack mules go another way to New Mexico, nor to Parral, nor to other places because of the difficulties of the rivers and the length of the road—about 500 leagues more or less which must be crossed among infidel, barbarous and enemy Indians. To do so would require a great number of [military] escorts.

From Mexico to *Real Quencamé* there are 150 leagues open to free and safe commerce without difficulties, detriment or any bother at all. From there to Parral there are [difficulties] due to the infidel Indians who usually attack the traveller, as has happened in the past. There are *presidios* to convoy passengers, carts, and all types of merchants. From

54. Fray Alonso points out in an aside here that one should also consider that on such a long trip it would be necessary to carry supplies. This would add even more to the number of days necessary for the trip, since it would involve slow pack animals.

55. Fray Alonso is probably taking a slap at Spanish control of trade here. Apparently Vera Cruz and Tampico were approved stops for the merchant ships. To sell goods anywhere else, unless the proposed port at *Espíritu Santo* were put on the approved list, would be against the law. Since this was true, no ships would be likely to stop there and the seaport would be a failure.

Parral to *el paso del Norte* it is about two hundred leagues across flat and easily travelled country. Although there are a few wild Indians they are not many and a small escort is enough.

As to whether it would be easier [to approach the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*] through the provinces of Florida or rather through the neighboring region that the latter share with the country settled by the English or French in the northern region, one could fear some harm as follows:

One must note that from St. Augustine, Florida to the Cape of Roquesay Obretón must be a distance of about two hundred leagues. The English and French settlements begin sixty leagues from Florida. To the *Cabo Delgado*, in whose province is located the *Corte Real* [islands] of France, the beginning of those lands which are obedient to the Most Christian King [of France], it is probably about 120 leagues distance. From the middle of those [French] lands trips can be made, although they are very long, by land down through another region that slopes to the south and going around the lands that belong to Florida arrive at the southlands which are under submission to the Province of Losa.[56]

But there might also be a great deal of difficulty in this [trip] because after so many years of possessing that land they [the French] would have done it themselves (because they are diligent in such undertakings) if they had not encountered some obstacles to the execution [of said trip]. The difficulty might have been that the foothills of the *Sierras Nevadas* are extensive and rough, mountainous and cold. This may have been the obstacle to their plan.

But always attempts [to go] through Florida would probably be good, departing inland in a southerly direction, and one could also go down to the *Gran Quivira* to the left, if he took enough people and an abundance of horses which are the best weapons against the Indians, and well trained soldiers and plenty of provisions. One crosses many miles without hope of finding provisions.

Since examples serve as well as [personal] experiences to

56. Possibly the Province of Coça encountered in this region by De Soto.

correct mistakes, it is well to note that Florida was discovered in 1520 [1513]. Two hundred men went two hundred leagues inland and suffered great famine, for they went to the Province of Olibahali and the Province of Losa of Capuchies and returned from there to Florida.[57] In the year 1530 [1539] Captain Hernando de Soto left Florida with a thousand men with the intention to explore all the land to New Mexico. He entered the previously mentioned lands and fell back on Quivira and when he got to the plains of *sibola* he was so cut to pieces by enemies and Indians all along the four hundred leagues of his route that when he was hard pressed by the Apacha, which nation we have already mentioned, he was forced to retreat and take advantage of a hill which he was fortunate enough to find on the bank of a large river which is believed to have been the Rio Grande [here the Mississippi]. From the wood he found on the hill and driftwood on the river he made a raft on which he went downstream and came out with very few men on the north coast from whence even while he was on the raft the Indians pursued him in canoes. Along said coast he arrived at Tampico broken, his men lost.[58]

In the year 1553 the fleet that left Veracruz for the Kingdoms of Castile from Havana by way of the Bahama channel was hit by a gale so great that only one battered boat arrived in Spain. Another boat, due to the intensity of the wind, arrived on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico in the district that lay near Tampico. In this boat were five dominican monks and three hundred people of various classes. They jumped ashore and set out for Tampico by way of the coast. Only one monk, Fray Marcos de Mena, of all those who were on the boat arrived [in Tampico] and that was miraculous as one can read in the book of the *Crónica de la Provincia de Nuestro Santo Padre Domingo de México*. One can also see what happened in the book printed about the expedition of Hernando de Soto.

57. Olibahali here is Hothliwahali or Ulibahali, an upper Creek town generally located on the north bank of the Tallapoosa River, at the mouth of Chubbehatches Creek, visited by De Soto and Tristán de Luna. The Province of Losa is commented on in the note above. Capuchies and Capachequi may be identical.

58. Fray Alonso's source of information for the Spanish explorations in the southeastern part of the present United States obviously was not very good.

With regard to the fear as to whether the foreign nations that are settled to the northeast of Florida are able to settle the port and bay of *Espíritu Santo* [let me say] that not only is the door open for other nations, but also for the kingdoms of France, of England or any other kingdom, or pirates can settle and populate said port as they would have no opposition in doing it, since from Florida to Tampico there is no garrison of Spanish soldiers. With regard to the fleets—may God forbid—if another port were settled [there] by foreigners, they [the Spanish] would enter and leave the port of Veracruz under obvious risk.

The means by which communication may be opened up through a new port have been mentioned already and it is only mentioned again so that it [the port] may be had for the inland kingdoms of this New Spain, and it is easy to get. In the nations of the Texas and Quivira, by settling said port and garrisoning it as aforesaid and placing a *presidio* inland on the *Nueces* River in the most convenient location to be found, with due reference to the grass lands and crop lands which would be needed because of the advantage of the *Sibola* cows and fruits that grow there, [one] could with a hundred field soldiers, provided they be cavalry, keep some to guard the fort and send others out to explore the district and [find] a place where the port might be established. This would accomplish not only the subjugation and conversion of these nations but [the fort] would also become the protector of the tribes throughout the land and would doubtless have the aid and support of the Jumana nation and of ten or twelve other tribes that are near the Jumanas on the *Rio del Norte* and they would go to settle on said river because those lands were theirs and were taken away from them by the Apacha nation, their enemies. The [tribes] desire revenge and their inclination to become Christian gives credence to the idea [belief] that they would be faithful. The nations of the Ahijados, Cuitoas, Escanjaques and Texas would do likewise because they are also oppressed by the Apacha nation as has been said, and the *presidio* could make the trip [possible] through the region of the *Rio del Norte* to the kingdom

of New León and right on to Mexico. Along this route it would be a little longer than from Mexico to *El Paso del Rio Norte*. Leaving Florida on a few *entradas* [expeditions] one could find or at least explore all the lands that are in between from one district to the other.

So that the truthfulness of the information given in this report might be considered legal [official] and the most truthful that can be had at present, there are in this city at present the *Maestro de Campo* Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, *Sargento Maestro* Bartholomé Gómez, Captain Diego Lucero and others born and reared here and presently residing in New Mexico.[59] By reading it [this report] to them they can give their opinions and they may add or subtract what they see that is not true. They will see the care and legality which this report contains, for he who is writing it swears in the words of a priest that according to his knowledge and understanding it is all that can be said and the information that can be given according to the best measure of lands and nations that can be made of all the kingdoms and provinces that are below the north in the region of New Mexico in fulfillment of those [data] ordered by the *Cédula Real del Sur*, and I sign it in this convent of our Father San Francisco of Mexico the 14th of March of 1686.

59. After the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, New Mexico was not reconquered until 1692. These men were probably residing at *El Paso del Norte* in 1686.

Notes and Documents

THE KILLING OF MIKE GORDON

PHILIP J. RASCH

Among the obscure points in the life of Doc Holliday have been the facts surrounding the killing of Mike Gordon. Jahns[1] appears completely unaware of this incident and Myers[2] tells his readers only that in August, 1879 Doc had a falling out with an outlaw named Mike Gordon, invited him out into the street and shot him. No authority is cited for his account. By chance the writer has recently come across an issue of the Las Vegas *Gazette*[3] which contains the report of the shooting. Here is the story which it relates:

On July 19, 1879 a number of places of amusement were opened in East Las Vegas. Among those attending the festivities was Michael Gordon, a former member of the Fifth Cavalry, who had been under the influence of liquor for several days. His mistress was at a hall on Center St. Gordon tried to persuade her to accompany him to another hall on Railroad St. When she refused to go, he flew into a drunken rage and swore that he would kill someone or be killed himself before morning.

While standing in Center St., Gordon suddenly drew his revolver and fired, the bullet passing through the pants legs of a Mexican and striking the floor in front of the bartender. Some other shots were immediately fired, but by whom was unknown. Gordon at once disappeared into the darkness. An hour or two later a Mr. Kennedy heard groans outside his tent, investigated and found Gordon lying on the ground, fatally wounded. A bullet had entered his right breast a little below the collarbone, ranged downward, and exited below the shoulder blade. Gordon's mistress had him taken to her room, where he died the following morning. The Coroner's Inquest found that the wound had been inflicted by some person unknown, and the *Gazette* observed that no one would talk about the matter for fear of being called to testify in court.

Since there appears to be no other issues of the Las Vegas papers for that period still extant, it has not been possible to determine the immediate subsequent developments. So far as the writer knows, it was another two years before the Las Vegas *Daily Optic*[4] publicly identified Holliday as the man who had killed Gordon. As has been related

1. Jahns, Pat, *The Frontier World of Doc Holliday*. New York: Hastings House, 1957.
2. Myers, John Myers, *Doc Holliday*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955, p. 113.
3. Las Vegas *Gazette*, July 26, 1879.
4. Las Vegas *Daily Optic*, July 20, 1881.

in an article[5] curiously overlooked by both Jahns and Myers, the *Optic* identified Holliday as the keeper of a gin-mill on Center St. at the time. It would be interesting to know whether it was his saloon which was the scene of the trouble.

* * *

University of New Mexico, Special Collections

(concluded)

PIONEERS FOUNDATION, INC. *Tape Recordings.*
264 reels.
Interviews with old time residents in New Mexico made by the Pioneers Foundation, Inc. under the direction of Lou Blachly. Early settlers such as Agnes Meader Snider, "Cap'n Burt" Mossman, Henry Brock, Caesar Brock, Montague Stevens, Wayne Whitehill, Marietta Wetherill, etc. describe frontier life as they experienced it.
See: Albert Rosenfeld, "The Wild West Lives Again," *Colliers*, 134 (26 November 1954), 48-53, for a description of this project.
Deposited in the Library of the University of New Mexico by Lou Blachly.

POE, JOHN WILLIAM, 1850-1923. *Manuscripts and Miscellanea Relating to Billy the Kid.*
1 folder. (18 items)
Manuscripts, newspaper clippings, magazine articles, photographs and miscellanea relating to Billy the Kid. Poe was in the cattle business in Lincoln county in the 1880's and was present at Billy's death. He is the author of *The Death of Billy the Kid.*

PRADT, GEORGE H., 1846-1927. *Surveyor's Notebooks and Records, 1869-1921.*
56 volumes, 11 packets.
Field notebooks, surveying notes, maps, drawings, etc. of G. H. Pradt, civil engineer in Laguna, and at one time a surveyor for the Surveyor-General of New Mexico. These records relate primarily to surveys of land grants in New Mexico.

PRINCE, LE BARON BRADFORD, 1840-1922, *collector. Spanish and English Language Documents.*
1 folder. (13 documents) (6 printed items)
Thirteen miscellaneous manuscripts, primarily letters, relating to nineteenth century New Mexico, including an Als of William Bent.
Six fly-sheets

1. Iglesia Cristiana, Catolica, Apostolica./ La Iglesia Cristina, segun los atributos o predicados. . . . Fernando de Taos Junio

5. Rasch, Phil, A Sidelight on Doc Holliday. Los Angeles Westerners *Branding Iron*, September, 1953.

7 A.D. 1862/ Imprenta de Vicente F. Romero dirigida por el mismo.

2. El Comandante General del Departamento de Durango/ a las tropas de su mando/ compañeros: La veleidosa fortuna nos ha negado sus favores:/. . . . Durango, Mayo 29 de 1846.
3. Manifiesto/ que el gobernador del departamento/ de Nuevo Mexico, hace a sus habitantes./. . . . Santa Fe 8 de Setiembre de 1844/ Mariano Martinez/Ano de 1844/ Imprenta particular a cargo de J.M.B. [287]
4. Triunfo de los principios/ contra la torpeza!/ El Gobernador Interino del Territorio/ a los habitantes del mismo/. . . . Santa Fe, Enero 25, de 1847. Donaciano Vigil. [31]
5. Circular/ Gobierno Superior del Territorio/. . . . Santa Fe, Feb. 12, 1847. Donaciano Vigil. [27]
6. Donaciano Vigil, Gobernador Interino del/ Territorio de Nuevo Mejico, a los/ habitantes del mismo/. . . . Santa Fe, Julio 1, 1847. Donaciano Vigil. [29. 1st broadside]

Numbers in brackets refer to entries in Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of American Imprints, No. 25. Check List of New Mexico Imprints and Publications, 1784-1876.* (Michigan Historical Records Survey, 1942).

PYRAMID GOLD AND SILVER MINING AND REDUCTION COMPANY, Pyramid City, New Mexico. *Bonds, ca. 1885.*

1 file box.

Bonds issued by the above company, ca. 1885. It was located in Pyramid City, Grant County, New Mexico.

RED RIVER VALLEY COMPANY. *Business Records, 1893-1940.*

76 volumes, 111 letter boxes, 126 voucher files.

Ledgers, journals, invoices, correspondence, accounts, vouchers, leases, contracts, monthly statements, etc. of the Red River Valley Company, the company under which the Bell Ranch was operated from 1898 to 1947 when the ranch was cut up.

RITCH, WILLIAM GILLET, 1830-1904, *collector. Ritch Papers Concerning the History of New Mexico, ca. 1539-1885.*

10 reels. [microfilm]

A microfilm copy made by the Henry E. Huntington Library of the manuscript portion of the Ritch collection in that library. The first two reels consist of miscellaneous Spanish language documents from the Spanish and Mexican periods in New Mexico. The other reels contain certain notebooks of Ritch, correspondence, diaries, official papers, reports, addresses, etc. primarily from the Territorial period. On reel 8 is reproduced: Biografia del Rev. P. Jose Antonio Martinez, cura parroco de Curato de Taos, A.D. 1877, por Santiago Valdez.

See: Fr. Angelico Chavez, "Some original New Mexico documents in

California libraries. I. Huntington Library, Ritch Collection," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 25 (1955), 244-248. [a selective listing relating only to the Spanish language documents]

RHODES, EUGENE MANLOVE, 1869-1934. *Letters, ca. 1928-1934.*
1 folder. (8 letters)
Miscellaneous letters and photoprints of letters written by Rhodes, ca. 1928-1934. Three are photoprints, two are typed, and three are Als.

ROBB, JOHN DONALD, *collector. J. D. Robb Collection of Folk Music Recordings.*
1096 recordings on 237 discs.
A collection of recordings of folk music most of which were made by J. D. Robb, Dean of the College of Fine Arts and Professor of Music at the University of New Mexico. Included are Hispanic melodies—romances, cuandos, decimas, canciones, corridos, alabados, letras, relaciones, coplas, inditas, trovos, and social dance tunes of many types; Indian dances—feather dance, horsetail dance, shield dance, Yebechai dance, etc.; Indian songs—lullabies, chants, songs of the Navaho moccasin game, etc.; and cowboy and frontier songs.
See: J. D. Robb, "The J. D. Robb Collection of Folk Music Recordings," *New Mexico Folklore Record*, 7 (1952/53), 6-20, for a description of the collection and a listing of recordings giving number, title, performer and place, and date.

SANDIA PUEBLO. *Land Deed, 1772.*
1 folder.
Original deed of land to the Indians of the Pueblo of Sandia in the year 1772. Signed by Pablo Salazar, Baltazar Griego, Juaquin Romero and Juan Gonzales.

SANTA FE (city). *Miscellaneous Records, 1910-1935.*
2 file boxes.
Miscellaneous official records of the city of Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1910-1935. Includes such things as ordinances, licenses and bonds, minutes of meetings, petitions, correspondence, bills, etc.

SANTA FE (city). Ayuntamiento. *Journal, 1829-1836.*
1 folder.
Fragments of the manuscript journal of the Ayuntamiento of Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1829-1836.

SPANISH AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE MANUSCRIPTS, 1826-1887.
1 folder. (7 documents)
Four Spanish language and three English language manuscripts from the Mexican and Territorial periods in New Mexico. Letters, contracts, and papers dealing with land grants (Los Candelarios, Griegos, Ranchos, El Rancho, etc.).

SPANISH LANGUAGE MANUSCRIPTS, 1791 and 1794.
1 folder. (2 documents)
(1) 1791. 27 December. Palacio Episcopal de la ciudad de Durango.

Auto issued by Don Estevan Lorenzo de Tristan, bishop of Durango, pertaining to the marriage of Juan Cristoval Sanchez and Rosa Sandoval. (2) 1794. Certifications on the state of the missions in New Mexico. [photoprint]

SPANISH LANGUAGE MANUSCRIPTS, 1811-1867.
1 folder. (9 documents)
Nine Spanish language manuscripts from the Spanish, Mexican and Territorial periods in New Mexico—bills of sale, records of court proceedings, etc. primarily relating to affairs in Rio Arriba county.

SPIEGELBERG, FLORA, 1857-. *Manuscripts and Clippings, ca. 1930-1939.*
1 folder.
Manuscripts and clippings of newspaper and magazine articles by or about Mrs. Spiegelberg, wife of Willi Spiegelberg, Santa Fe pioneer merchant and mayor of that city in the 1880's. Articles relate to life in New Mexico, ca. 1850-1900.

STACKPOLE, PETER. *Photographs.*
1 folder. (8 photographs)
Eight photographs of scenes in Santo Domingo Pueblo taken by Peter Stackpole for *Life* magazine.

STECK, MICHAEL, 1818-1883. *Papers, 1853-1880.*
9 file boxes.
Letters, notebooks, reports, etc. primarily relating to Steck's activities as Indian Agent for the Mescalero Apache and later (1863) as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico. These papers include not only letters written by or to Steck but also correspondence of other prominent persons in New Mexico during this period. Although they chiefly concern Indian affairs, they are a source of much information on other matters.

TERKIN, JOHN. *"Arrowed Death" Papers, 1938-1939.*
1 folder.
Memoranda and correspondence relative to the sculpture "Arrowed Death" by John Terkin, together with photographs of the sculpture. These papers relate to a National Park Service official's suggestion that the sculpture be acquired for the Bandelier National Monument.

THOMPSON, ALBERT W. *Manuscripts.*
2 file boxes.
Manuscripts of "The Story of Black Jack Ketchum" and "Clay Allison, Extinguisher of Bad Men"; correspondence; photographs; and newspaper clippings.

TRUJILLO, JOHN M., *collector. Photographs of Deming, N. M., Area, ca. 1918.*
1 folder. (8 photographs)
Eight photographs of the Deming, New Mexico, area including photographs of Camp Cody, ca. 1918.

U. S. BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT, *collector. Papers relating to New Mexico Land Grants.*

65 reels. Microfilms of the original documents in the office of the Bureau of Land Management in Santa Fe.

These papers, filmed by the University of New Mexico Library, were assembled in the late nineteenth century by various government agencies in conjunction with the legal processes necessary to establish recognition of Spanish and Mexican land grants in New Mexico as required by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. They fall into four major categories: (1) Documents described in Volume I of Ralph E. Twitchell's, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914), which includes many documents relating to land grants to the Pueblo Indians; (2) Various indexes and record books kept prior to the establishment of the office of the Surveyor-General including the index to Spanish and Mexican documents kept by Donaciano Vigil and the books in which land titles were recorded in accordance with the provisions of the Kearny Code; (3) Records of the office of the Surveyor-General for New Mexico—grant dockets, records of cases presented for adjudication, letters sent, letters received, etc.; (4) Records of the U. S. Court of Private Land Claims—dockets, records of cases brought before the court, journals, vacation minute books, etc.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 left the United States with a land problem of considerable magnitude for according to the terms of the treaty the United States agreed to recognize land grants made by Spain and Mexico in the ceded area. In order to process the various claims made in connection with these grants, the office of U. S. Surveyor-General for New Mexico was created on 22 July 1854. The Surveyor-General working under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior reviewed evidence and recommended confirmation to Congress. In time the Surveyor-General system was discarded and on 3 March 1891 the Court of Private Land Claims was created by Congress. This court consisting of five judges had jurisdiction over New Mexico, Colorado and Arizona. It passed upon petitions asking confirmation of land with titles delivered from Spanish or Mexican grants. Appeals to the Supreme Court were allowed. The Court heard some 301 petitions dealing with 34,653,340 acres. Two thirds of the petitions were rejected. Seventy-five claims were allowed. These claims totaled some 1,934,986 acres.

U. S. GENERAL LAND OFFICE. *Grant, 1838.*

1 folder.

Grant of land to Ezra L. Mason according to the provisions of an Act of Congress of April, 1820—"An act making further provision for the sale of the Public Lands." Dated 5 September 1838. Signed by Martin Van Buren.

U. S. GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEYS WEST OF THE 100TH MERIDIAN. *Field Books, 1873-1879.*

53 volumes.

Field books recording meteorological and other data primarily in New Mexico. Meteorological records, (6 volumes); Triangulation (5 volumes); Odometer (5 volumes); Astronomical Dept. (8 volumes); Observations for latitude (3 volumes); Computations of distances (9 volumes); Sextant observations (5 volumes); Computations of areas of economical features (1 volume); Computations of latitudes and departures of topographical meanders (10 volumes); Transcripts from field meteorological record (1 volume).

See: U. S. Geographical surveys west of the one hundredth meridian, *Report upon United States Geographical surveys west of the one hundredth meridian, in charge of First Lieut. Geo. M. Wheeler . . .* (Washington: Govt. Prt. Office, 1875-89)

U. S. PUEBLO LANDS BOARD. *Reports relating to the Laguna Indian Pueblo.*

1 folder.

Typed copies of the original reports on file in the office of the Cadastral Engineer in Santa Fe, New Mexico. (1) "Documentary evidence in reference to the Laguna Indian Pueblo." [31 pages] (2) "Pueblo of Laguna. Report of the Pueblo Lands Board making recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior for compensation to non-Indian claimants under Section 7 of the Act of June 7, 1924." Santa Fe, 5 December 1931. [3 pages]

U. S. SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM. *New Mexico Draft Board Records, World War I.*

1 carton.

Photoprint copies of selected records of New Mexico draft boards, World War I, arranged by counties. The records consist primarily of lists of names of men to be called up for duty.

U. S. WAR DEPARTMENT. Office of the Quartermaster. *Records, 1860-1886.*

1 folder.

Photoprints of contracts between the U. S. Army Quartermaster and various parties in New Mexico (e.g. Charles Ilfeld, M. Brunswick, W. H. Chick) for the provision of food, transportation, coal, etc., ca. 1860-1886. The originals are in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

WROTH, JAMES S., *collector. Photographs, ca. 1880-1900.*

1 carton.

Photographs dealing primarily with the Atlantic and Pacific Railway begun in Albuquerque in 1880 and completed prior to 1900 in Los Angeles, California. It later became part of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe.

The Territorial Post Offices of New Mexico *

This is a compilation of various official and unofficial records. Dates of establishment, discontinuance, and re-establishment are given together with name changes, chronological county location, and the name of the first postmaster. This listing covers the period up to January 6, 1912. In some cases (not all) the year of discontinuance after this period is shown.

The source of this information was primarily the Records of Postmaster Appointments now in the vaults of the National Archives. Various official and unofficial lists of post offices in the Library of Congress and elsewhere were used as supplementary references. The primary source records are in manuscript. Since some of the entries are poorly written and some are badly faded, the spelling of postmaster names may occasionally be in error.

The date of establishment given is the date of appointment of the first postmaster. The actual date of commencing business is not known in most cases, but there is no evidence from any office that this date is earlier than the one given. The various records indicate that from one to six months is the usual elapsed time between postmaster appointment and the opening of the post office. A date of establishment involving a change of name is believed to be reasonably accurate. No covers are known where the old name was used after the date of name change, although it is possible that some may exist.

Many appointments of postmasters were made to offices that were never in operation. Known cases have not been included in the listing except in the few cases where they appear in postal guides. These are noted as "never in operation." As far as is known, all other post offices listed actually existed, although several are questionable, and it is quite possible that no mail ever originated from some of these. It is hoped that this will be confirmed by future research.

In general, none of the records available can be considered as a completely accurate source. Some records are be-

* Copyright 1958 by Sheldon H. Dike, 1611 Bayita Lane NW—Albuquerque, N. M.

ABIQUIU. N MEX.
FEB 11 1881
1
ABIQUIU
AUG 12 1883
N. MEXICO
2
AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.
FEB
28
P.M.
1906
N. MEX.
1
3
AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.
OCT
19
P.M.
1910
N. MEX.
5
AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.
FEB
16
1909
P.M.
N. MEX.
4
ALAMOGORDO N.MEX.
DEC28
10 AM
1910
7
1
Albert N.M.
10.9.90.
8
Agua Negra N.M.
July 13 1883
6
Albuquerque
Sep 26
9
ALBUQUERQUE
JUN
7
N.M.
10
ALBUQUERQUE
1859
SEP
19
N.M.
11
ALBUQUERQUE
DEC
9
NM
12
W.F. & CO'S EX.
APR 18 1883
ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.
13
J. W. NICHOLS, RTE AGT.
W.F.& CO'S EX.
MAY 22 1883
ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.
14
ALBUQUERQUE
JUN
12
1884
N.MEX.
15
ALBUQUERQUE
OCT
30
9PM
1885
N.MEX.
16
ALBUQUERQUE
JUL
27
1887
9PM
N.MEX.
17
REGISTERED
APR.15 1888
Albuquerque N. M.
21
ALBUQUERQUE
DEC
26
1889
N.MEX.
18
ALBUQUERQUE
22
DEC
9PM
1890
N.MEX.
19
ALBUQUERQUE
JUL
11
9PM
1891
N.MEX.
20
ALBUQUERQUE
JAN
2
530PM
1893
N.MEX.
22
ALBUQUERQUE
APR
3
930PM
1894
N.MEX.
23
ALBUQUERQUE
MAR
7
530AM
1895
N.MEX.
24
ALBUQUERQUE.N.MEX.
JAN 9
8 PM
99
25
2

REGISTERED
NOV 9 1896
Albupuerque N. Mex.
26

ALBUQUERQUE N MEX
MAR 9
3 PM
1901
1
27

ALBUQUERQUE N MEX
MAR 3
2 30 PM
1907
1
28

ALBUQUERQUE
AUG 17
2 P.
1901
N. MEX.
29

ALBUQUERQUE N MEX
JUL 27
7 — P
1905
30

ALBUQUERQUE N MEX
APR 4
7 - PM
1908
31

ALBUQUERQUE N MEX
APR 25
5 30 PM
1910
I
C
33

ALBUQUERQUE
AUG 19
11 PM
N. MEX.
1909
32

1

ALBUQUERQUE N MEX
AUG
22
7 PM
1908
TRANS. CLK.
34

ALBUQUERQUE N MEX
FEB
26
1910
7 AM
35

AMARGO
11
21
1890
N. MEX.
37

Armar. N.M. 6/18-1889
36

AMARGO
DEC
31
1892
N. MEX.
38

ANGUS
NOV
23
1898
N. M.
40

REGISTERED
FEB 9 1893
AMARGO, N. MEX.
39

ANTHONY
NOV
30
1898
N. MEX.
41

ANTONCHICO
OCT
27
1897
N MEX.
42

Arizona N.M.
March 9.
43

ARIZONA
MAY
16
N. M.
44

ARMS
FEB
17
1880
NEW MEX.
45

AZTEC
OCT
1
1889
NEW MEXICO
46

Baca
11 29 86
47

BARNEY
MAR
31
1899
N. MEX.
48

BARNEY
MAR
7
1903
N. MEX.
49

BEENHAM,
JUL
5
A.M.
1906
N. MEX.
50

BELEN
DEC
25
1883
N. MEX
51

BELEN,
FEB
2
1888
N. M.
52

lieved to be more reliable than others. For example, the Postmaster Appointment Records and the Postal Guides after 1875 are felt to contain more reliable data than that presented in the U. S. Registers. Post office listings published prior to 1875 are not always correct. Unfortunately almost all other post office records prior to 1914, including those showing postal receipts, etc., were destroyed some years ago by Congressional order.

It should be mentioned that a change of name sometimes included a shift in location. The distances involved were usually only a few miles. The largest such location shift occured when Tucson was changed to Fort Buchanan.

Post office names sometimes differed from the name locally in use by the community. Difference in spelling sometimes occurred between the official post office version and that used in the postmark. Some of these were errors in making up the postmark which were later corrected (e.g., Cerrillas for Cerrillos, Cimmaron for Cimarron). Some were intentional, such as Hillsboro for Hillsborough, and Fernando de Taos for Fernandez de Taos. In both of these latter cases no official name change was made. Similarly the post office at Las Cruces was originally established as Las Cruzces. In the early 60's the "z" was dropped, but no official change was made in the spelling. In several cases official changes in spelling were made, such as Angle to Engle, Cribbensville to Cribbenville, Greenville to Grenville, Montecillo to Monticello, Ryado to Rayado, Sebolla to Cebolla, etc. In addition there were a number of changes from two words to one word. This may have been the result of a P. O. Department request since all such changes were made in 1895. Those whose names were combined to form one word were Casa Salazar, Juan Tafoya, La Joya, La Plata, Las Colonias, Pine Spring, and Pinos Wells.

As was the case in other territories, post offices were established in New Mexico Territory which were never within its boundaries. Examples are Frontero (Frontera) and San Elizario (both always in Texas). In a few cases offices which were in New Mexico were established in neighboring territories.

This listing contains 1178 post offices. One of these (Brown) is known never to have been in operation; a few others are questionable. Not included are 60 other offices which were never in operation. All changes of name, including official changes in spelling, are listed as different post offices. A re-establishment under a previous name after a name change is considered as a new post office. (Example: Tucson was changed to Fort Buchanan in June 1857. A post office was later established at Tucson in November 1857. Hence Tucson is listed twice.) A re-establishment in the same location without an intervening name change is not counted as a different post office.

There were 10 post offices in what is now Arizona. These were Arizona, Casa Blanca, Colorado City, Fort Buchanan, Fort Defiance, Gila City, Maricopa, Pima Village, Tubac, and Tucson. (There were 11 under the listing rules, since Tucson is listed twice, but geographically there were 9, since Arizona was a name change from Colorado City.) Tucson and Pima Village continued without interruption as post offices in Arizona Territory.

Prior to the coming of the railroad to New Mexico in 1879, there had been 151 post offices. At the time of statehood establishment on January 6, 1912, there were 634 post offices. (As of July 1, 1957, there were 418 post offices.)

The following county abbreviations are used in the listing:

Bern—Bernalillo
Chav—Chaves
Colf—Colfax
D. A.—Dona Ana
Guad—Guadalupe
L. W.—Leonard Wood
Linc—Lincoln
McK—McKinley
R. A.—Rio Arriba
Roos—Roosevelt
Sand—Sandoval
S. J.—San Juan
S. M.—San Miguel
S. A.—Santa Ana
S. F.—Santa Fe
S'ra—Sierra
Soc—Socorro
Torr—Torrance
Val—Valencia

Sheldon H. Dike

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

Town	Co.	Date estab. or re-estab.	Name chg'd from	First postmaster	Date discont.	Name changed to	Remarks
Abbott	Colf	26 May 81		Horace C. Abbott	8 Oct 81		
Abbott	Mora	4 Nov 05	Sauz	Joe M. Higgins			
Abiquiu	R. A.	3 Feb 52		John Francisco	10 Feb 53		
		21 Jan 61		Manuel Salazar	14 July 63		
		8 Oct 66		Jose Antonio Manzanaris	23 Jan 68		
		5 Jan 70		Jose Antonio Manzanaris	30 Sept 84	Joseph	
Abiquiu	R. A.	2 Dec 84	Joseph	Aaron M. Actler			
Abo	Torr	23 Mar 10		Maud Bond	June-Dec 11		Mail to Mountainair
Acme	Chav	11 June 06		John Gantenbein			
Acomita	Val	2 Sept 05		Augustus D. Allen	30 June 06		Mail to Seama
Adelino	Val	24 Feb 11		Camilo Barela	(1916)		
Aden	D. A.	27 Jan 94		Lewis R. Kline	16 June 98		Mail to Cambray
		10 Aug 05		Lewis R. Godden			
Agricultural College	D. A.	1 Dec 05		John O. Miller	(1912)		
Agua Negra	S. M.	9 Apr 68		James M. Giddings	22 Oct 69		
	Mora	7 Aug 84		Joseph S. Holman	27 July 92		Mail to Mora
Agudo	Guad	17 Mar 09		J. A. Coals	(1913)		
Ahmego	Quay	11 June 08		John H. Marlowe	4 Sept 09	Lockney	
Airolo	Union	4 Nov 05		Carl Gilg	15 Feb 09		Mail to Pasamonte
Alameda	Bern	10 Dec 66		Antonio Lerma	3 Aug 68		
		24 Apr 90		Maximo A. Perea			
Alamo	Guad	13 Aug 06		Alfred A. Chavez			
Alamogordo	D. A.	1 June 98		Silas D. Pollack			
Albemarle	Otero Sand	7 June 01		Lawrence B. Smith	15 Sept 03		Mail to Bland
Albert	Mora	30 June 90	Tequesquite	Andrew Knell			
Albuquerque	Union Bern	17 Apr 51		John Webber	21 June 82		M. to New Albuquerque

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

Town	Co.	Date estab. or re-estab.	Name chg'd from	First postmaster	Date discont.	Name changed to	Remarks
Albuquerque	Bern	1 July 82	New Albuquerque	Thomas Hughes			
Alcalde	R. A.	27 June 90		Jose Salazar	13 May 93		Mail to Chamita
		24 Oct 93		Felipita Martinez	8 June 94		Mail to Chamita
		14 May 02		Felipe Guillen			
Alcatraz	S. J.	7 Apr 92		Pablo Candelaria	27 Mar 94		Mail to Largo
Alellen	Chav	25 Apr 04		Frederick M. Holm	Dec 04		Mail to Dexter
		7 Jan 05		Rebecca V. Hortenstein	20 May 07	Orchard Park	
Aleman	Soc	19 July 69		John Martin	15 July 78		
	S'ra	22 Sept 84		Joseph Wasson	17 July 90		Mail to Detroit
Algodones	S. A.	6 Nov 55		Michael Gleason	2 Nov 57		
		1 Dec 58		Edward C. Townsend	29 Feb 60		
		12 Mar 64		Jose Gutierrez	11 July 65		
		10 Dec 66		Jose Gutierrez	25 Sept 68		
		5 Nov 69		Henry S. Hays	10 July 71		
	Bern	3 Jan 81		Florencio Sandoval	31 May 81		
		29 Oct 98		John C. Balcomb			
Alhambra	Sand Grant	16 June 90		Milton Miller	31 Mar 02		Mail to Silver City
Allen	Quay	11 Aug 06		James G. Walker	(1916)		
Allerton	Bern	23 Mar 94		Alexander Green	26 Feb 96		Mail to Bland
Allison	Grant	25 Aug 93		John H. Allison	27 June 01		Mail to Faywood
Alma	Soc	17 Feb 82		James C. Lee	13 Mar 96		Mail to Graham
		13 Feb 00		George W. Rowe			
Altamont	R. A.	2 Feb 83		George S. Trumble	22 Sept 84		M. to Tierra Amarilla
Alto	Linc	2 May 01		William H. Walker			
Alumina	Grant	3 Apr 90		James H. Hill	30 Apr 94		Mail to Pinos Altos
Amado	Val	1 Oct 00		Lucario Candelaria	28 Feb 05		Mail to San Mateo
Amargo	R. A.	9 May 81		Sylvester I. Shaw	7 July 81		
		8 Aug 81		Edward A. Vorhang	5 Feb 94	Lumberton	
American Valley	Soc	27 May 87		Charles F. Jewett	11 Oct 87		Mail to Socorro

Amistad	Union	29 July 07		Edward E. Kelsey			
Amizett	Taos	6 June 93		Margaret A. Helphenstone	18 Jan 02	Twining	
Analla	Linc	27 Apr 03		Isidro L. Analla	5 Apr 09	Tinnie	
Anapra	D. A.	25 June 07		Lera Page	(1914)	West El Paso	
Ancho	Linc	12 June 02		Frank J. Bush			
Andrews	S'ra	15 June 98		George W. Delamater	2 Jan 07		Mail to Hillsboro
Angle	Soc	7 July 81		W. W. Strohm	7 Dec 81	Engle	
Angus	Linc	10 Mar 98		Porter G. Peters	(1913)		
Animas	Grant	13 July 09		William E. Stivers			
Anniston	Quay	20 Jan 09		William E. Maxwell	(1913)		
Annville	Bern	23 May 81		Thomas W. McIlvain	9 May 82	Wallace	
Ansonio	Grant	27 Apr 90		George Harris	1 June 92		Mail to Hanover
Antelope	Val	12 Jan 91		William P. Metcalf	7 Feb 95		Mail to Chilili
Anthony	D. A.	2 May 84		Allen McIlvaine			
Anton Chico	S. M.	17 Jan 72		Eduardo Martinez			
	Guad						
	L. W.						
	Guad						
Apache	Colf	17 Dec 77		Henry G. Gray	2 Apr 82		Mail to Chico Springs
Aqua De Lobo	Taos	18 Feb 88		George Alvey	29 Apr 05	Lobo	
Arabela	Linc	15 Feb 01		Andrew M. Richardson			
Aragon	Soc	3 May 06	Joseph	Cornelio Aragon			
Arch	Roos	22 Sept 03		W. M. Nickols			
Archuleta	Bern	19 Mar 88		John B. Block	31 Jan 94	Perea	
Ard	Quay	23 July 07		Joseph J. Jeter	(1913)		
Arizona	D. A.	17 Mar 58	Colorado City	John B. Dow	8 June 63		
Armijo	Bern	2 Feb 83		Melchior Werner	22 Mar 86	Old Albuquerque	
Armijo	Bern	4 June 06		Jose F. Armijo	30 Mar 07		Mail to Albuquerque
		10 Nov 09		William N. Ferguson	June-Dec 11		Mail to Albuquerque
Arms	Colf	28 Jan 79		Henry M. Arms	23 June 80		
Arragon	S. M.	6 June 84		Hugo C. Carson	14 Dec 85		Mail to El Pueblo
Arrey	S'ra	29 July 01		Urbino P. Arrey			
Arroyo Hondo	Taos	8 Dec 85		Julian A. Martinez			
Arroyo Seco	Taos	27 Apr 81		Adolph Gusdorf	22 Jan 95		Mail to Taos
Arroyoseco	Taos	13 Mar 95		Jose M. Medina			

(To be continued)

Major General James Henry Carleton, 1814-1873, Western Frontier Dragoon. By Aurora Hunt. Frontier Military Series, Volume II. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1958. $10.

James Henry Carleton was a figure of some importance and wide experience in the mid-nineteenth-century West. He served with distinction in northern Mexico in the Mexican War. Previous to and following this Carleton served at many frontier posts, performed escort duty along the Santa Fe Trail and engaged in operations against Indians. During the Civil War Carleton commanded the "column" of California volunteers which helped keep New Mexico secure from possible Confederate re-entry after the South's first invasion failed, and he himself served as military commander in New Mexico, 1862-1866. He wrote a book on the Battle of Buena Vista and reports (among others) on the ruins of Abo and Gran Quivira and on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, all important in various ways.

Miss Hunt had the opportunity to make an outstanding contribution in this volume, but did not succeed; she does too much in some respects and not enough in others. Her inclinations as a genealogist are manifest in her attention to "The Notable Carleton Family" (first chapter) and in sentimental remarks in the text. In the final chapter, however, she disposes of Carleton's last years very summarily, seemingly in haste to enlarge on the attainments of Carleton's older son, Henry Guy Carleton. The son should have been relegated to a footnote or appendix along with much other marginal and irrelevant material in this book; Carleton's last six years deserved thorough investigation by the author, but material in the National Archives and in contemporary newspapers was not adequately utilized. Research was also superficial in many other instances.

Author and publisher must share responsibility for smaller flaws: fifty-five by actual count in one reading. These flaws range from typographical errors and misspellings

(especially of Spanish names) to the omission of words and misuse of titles, and mistakes of historical fact. The prohibition movement did not begin in Maine in 1851 (p. 126). The Mormon Battalion did not fight battles in a military sense, not even one, en route to California or in California (p. 182). Arizona did not become "an integral part of the Territory of New Mexico" by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo or any other treaty (p. 223). Carleton could not have crossed the Jornada del Muerto "in the late afternoon sun" in his lifetime (p. 237). This reviewer knows of no claims made by Texas to Arizona or the Gadsden Purchase area prior to the Civil War (p. 253).

If there are advantages in having a person of no military experience write about military affairs, they do not appear in this book. Miss Hunt errs several times as to Carleton's rank, evidently does not understand the technicality of brevet rank, and confuses a court-martial and a court of inquiry (pp. 164n, 203, 204, 158n, 122). By contrast with Miss Hunt's earlier and better book on *The Army of the Pacific,* the publisher has reverted generally to more orthodox practices in capitalization, but unfortunately has abandoned diacritical marks in Spanish words (except p. 329). The fifty-five flaws do not include any instances of omission of diacritical marks. but do include misspellings of these words: Matamoros, Monterrey, Mescalero, Manzano, Picacho, Saltillo, Pimas, Dolores, Tijeras and Loretto (pp. 96, 99, 143, 147, 214, 216, 263, 264, 291, 338).

The book is described by the publisher as "refreshingly readable." This reviewer sees no justification for this statement. The text is marred by poor organization and clumsy transitions, much awkward sentence structure and poor word choice, as well as *non sequiturs,* redundancies and pronouns with doubtful antecedents. There are five maps, dim and apparently mostly reduced in size from the originals, with the result that they are unreadable to a considerable extent. The clearest map is of the "South part of Cumberland County, England, showing Carleton Hall." No "refreshing" reading is to be had in the erratic footnotes, but instead, glaring omissions and many inconsistencies.

Anyone who pays ten dollars for this book will likely feel that the State of California owes him a partial refund if he reads the chapter entitled, "An Unpaid Debt and White Crosses Marked 'Unknown.' " Carleton is used as a springboard for a plunge into a pool of polemic: a denunciation of the federal government, and especially the "defamatory pronouncement" of the United States Court of Claims of March 1954 which repudiated California's $7-½ million claim based on certain Civil War expenditures. Miss Hunt goes into much detail in this matter, summarizing legal briefs with obvious partiality and supporting herself with both Shakespeare and the Bible.

Texas Western College JOHN BLOOM

Owen Wister Out West: His Journals and Letters. Edited by Fanny Kemble Wister. University of Chicago Press. Pp. xix, 269. Index, ill. $5.00.

The Journals are those Owen Wister wrote on fifteen trips to the West from 1885 until *The Virginian* was published in 1902. The Letters, largely to his mother, are interspersed here and there and, edited to contain only western materials, assist in showing the development of Wister's thinking about the West.

The Journals, unknown to his family until long after his death, were begun merely as the jottings of an impressionable young man of twenty-five. As his interest in a literary career grew, they became more detailed to include impressions, character sketches, anecdotes, geography and incidents of sight and sound of value in writing. Observations are penetrating and frank. Some communities will treasure the record, others will try to forget it.

Although Wister traveled the West from Washington to Texas, Wyoming (the Wind River and Fort Washakie area particularly) was his favorite retreat. He was restored in spirit and body by the high plains and their characteristic "light that never was on land or sea, except in Wyoming." Arizona and the Southwest eventually also had a strong pull for him.

These Journals, linked with Wister's western stories, provide an important strand in the evolution of the western theme in American literature. Six years after his first trip Wister came to sense the significance of the West, and to love it to the extent that he wrote in his 1891 diary: "Did I believe in the efficacy of prayer, I should petition to be the hand that once for all chronicled and laid bare the virtues and vices of this extraordinary phase of social progress." In *The Virginian* and his *Harper's* articles, Wister did much to make the American cowboy a distinctive person of a stature he had not achieved before—and seldom since.

Edited skillfully by his daughter, who contributes short unifying essays, the book also serves as a biographical sketch of Wister. Here is chronicled the remarkable feat of a sensitive young man of wealth and family, a music major in Harvard, who at age twenty-two won praise from Franz Liszt both for his music and his French, winning the confidence of the western cowboy and the frontier military man. Oddly enough, Owen Wister and Theodore Roosevelt, both of whom did much to win recognition for the West as a theme for literature, were college mates and life-long friends.

The University of Chicago Press is to be congratulated upon this publication which is important both to the history and the literature of the western movement, and in its own right an interesting and highly readable book.

Montana State College MERRILL G. BURLINGAME

Mr. Hunt and the Fabulous Plan. By Cecil Pearl Dryden. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1958. Pp. 343. $5.00.

On March 12, 1811, seven years after the Lewis and Clark expedition, Wilson Price Hunt accompanied by fifty-six men, one woman and two children launched their boats in the Missouri River at St. Louis for the infant settlement of Astoria.

Mr. Hunt and the Fabulous Plan is a fictionized narrative of the Hunt journey and John Jacob Astor's scheme for a fur trade empire in the Pacific Northwest. Initially the Hunt

party had intended to follow closely the Lewis and Clark Trail. However, when the Astorians arrived at an Aricara village, four hundred fifty miles up the Missouri, reports of Indian hostilities on up the river thwarted their original plan.

Exchanging their boats for horses at the Aricara villages, the party proceeded in a southwest direction across present-day South Dakota, Montana and Wyoming. They followed the Big Horn River to the Wind River, crossing Union Pass to the Green River. They rested a short time at Andrew Henry's Fort on the north fork of the Snake. Foolishly abandoning their horses, they set off on a turbulent, gruelling, portage-filled voyage down the Snake. The main party divided into two groups, traveling down opposite sides of the river. Finally on May 11, 1812, the last group of Hunt's party arrived at Astoria. Wilson Hunt wrote with some emotion in the end of his diary, "It was a very real pleasure for travellers harrassed by fatigue to rest in quiet and be surrounded by friends after so long a journey in the midst of savages of whom it is always prudent to be wary."

Seldom in the annals of American exploration has there been such an ill-planned expedition. One of the intriguing enigmas of western history is why the normally astute Astor chose Wilson P. Hunt as leader for such a project. His previous occupation as a St. Louis merchant hardly qualified him to lead the party. Vacillation and poor judgment were in evidence in Hunt's leadership, not only on the journey, but also in his tenure as "resident agent" on the Pacific coast.

Miss Dryden's fictionized account may be of interest to some general readers, but it will not intrigue the specialist in Western History. In the main her historical research has been sound but evidently uninspired, as there has been little attempt to present new material.

Her interpretations of the motives of Duncan MacDougall and Donald McKenzie in negotiating the sale of Astoria is more reliable than many previous explanations. W. J. Ghent, for instance, would have one believe that MacDougall was in collusion with the North West Company—a thesis that has become discounted most recently by Dorothy Johansen and Charles Gates in their *Empire of the Columbia.*

Judged as a piece of fiction, Miss Dryden's book is a rather undistinguished performance. Her narrative lags in a number of places, especially when she is relating the vicissitudes of Wilson P. Hunt at Astoria.

University of Wyoming GENE M. GRESSLEY

Then Came the Railroads: The Century from Steam to Diesel in the Southwest. By Ira G. Clark. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. Pp. xv, 336. Maps, ill., bibliog., index. $5.75.

The literature of American railroads is filled with histories of individual lines, and with various popular and more general treatments of railroading on a national scale, but there are available few regional studies depicting the influence of rails upon the development of any of our economic empires. There is a reason for this. To study the growth and adventures of any given line is in itself a task of frustrating complexities, involving a knowledge of economics, statistics, law, engineering, human relations and a transportation vocabulary. The story of a single road is filled with numerous side-tracks, inter-relationships, and off-beat aspects, tantalizing and inviting, yet filled with all manner of derail possibilities that constantly threaten the author. The easiest way to avoid these pitfalls is to take the high road, and to write in terms so broad and so general as to keep from slipping beneath the surface. This diminishes the necessity of dealing with annoying details. The middle road, that of trying to show the impact of various railroads on a section of the country, as Clark does in this volume, is the most difficult, and offers the most problems and the fewest rewards of writing railroad history.

Then Came the Railroads has the feel of a large book that has been cut mercilessly to get it into the size package the publisher's customers can afford to buy. It might have been better if Dr. Clark had not tried to include so much at the outset. While it is more than commendable that he is fully aware of the necessity of treating such things as the growth of western towns, of the burgeoning economy of the country,

of the people who became users of the railroads, some of the chapters are so sketchy that they might well have been omitted, yielding space to other aspects of the story. The chapter entitled "Buffalo Hunters, Cowmen, and Farmers" is singled out as a case in point. And while the reviewer is engaged in criticism, it might be mentioned that a glaring deficiency of the book lies in its photographs, most of which represent the worst examples of railroad publicity department offerings.

The author has relied very heavily upon statistical sources. A quick glance at the notes will show a heavy proportion of references to Interstate Commerce Commission Valuation Reports, census figures and Congressional documents. The result is the usual difficulty of assimilation and a tendency to list, enumerate, and specify. The harvest is a large crop of names, places and dates. From time to time the lengthy names of railroads and their terminal points fall so thick and fast before the reader's eyes that he is almost overcome by a desire to flee back into the canal boat and Conestoga Wagon days. This state of affairs derives from no malicious intent upon the part of the author. He is caught in the crossfire of criticism by the general reader who would prefer to click over the rails in relaxed reading comfort, and the railroad fan, who tyrannically demands a complete account of every line, branch, spur and side-track. It is one of the occupational hazards of writing institutional history, the dubious reward for which is "damned if you do and damned if you don't," including a stand at the pillory while reviewers who could do no better themselves torment him who has labored long and hard to put together an enormously difficult story.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

Pawnee Bill. By Glenn Shirley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958. Pp. 256. $5.00.

In recent years a spate of frontier biographies has inundated the readers and collectors of western Americana. Many of these have been mere rehashes of old subjects under new

or lurid titles and without claim to truth or honest endeavor.

Pawnee Bill is very definitely not one of these.

Glenn Shirley in his latest book has approached the subject of one of the last of the old plainsmen with sincerity and honesty. His scholarly research is evident in his comprehensive bibliography. He names personages, dates and places without resorting to the *circa* subterfuge.

In spite of the fact that interest centers upon Gordon William Lillie whose life embodied more closely packed adventure and drama than any of his contemporaries, the pages are replete with the running biographies of such men as Buffalo Bill, David L. Payne, Nate Salsbury and others.

Major Gordon Lillie was an unusual man in the closing years of the old frontier. Unlike his boyhood idol and later business partner, Buffalo Bill Cody, Lillie kept his feet upon the ground. He survived the vicissitudes of circus life and managed to retire with a whole skin. Unlike Buffalo Bill who was a poor business man, or as Lillie characterized the old showman, "Time smooths everything. Buffalo Bill died my friend. He was just an irresponsible boy," Major Lillie's dream of salvaging the buffalo became a reality. Pawnee Bill was never remembered as an Indian killer. He saw his friends the Pawnee as they were, men worthy of respect and friendship.

As a showman, business man, stock raiser and banker, Pawnee Bill had no equal. Even with business reverses and the irresponsibilities of his partner, Lillie seems to have held no grudges.

How history will evaluate Pawnee Bill is difficult to predict. Certainly in the make believe world of show business he has left ineradicable footsteps with his success in managing the last of the great "Bill shows."

It may be that at some future date a silly-looking Hollywood character with a wisp of flowing silk scarf tied under one ear and wearing a factory moulded cow boy hat, boasting two huge six guns and a gaudy shirt, boots and pants, will usurp the name and fame of Pawnee Bill. That is to be expected. Already the rising clouds of taurine dust stirred up in the TV corral by synthetic Kit Carsons, noted Indian chiefs

and frontier characters in general have tended to becloud and besmirch the names and fame of the originals. Let us hope this will not happen to Pawnee Bill.

In reading Glenn Shirley's biography of this remarkable man one is always conscious of the fact that here, in spite of the usual gaudy trappings of the circus of a bygone era, is the life drama of more than just a poseur in buckskins.

Pawnee Bill lived well into our own times, and when he died at his beloved Buffalo Ranch, February 3, 1942, at the age of eighty-two, there passed one of the last real makers of the old west. Today he sleeps peacefully in Highland cemetery, Oklahoma, beside the bodies of May, his wife of half a century, and Billy, his little son who never grew up.

1680 E. Loma Alta Dr., Altadena, Calif.

ARTHUR WOODWARD

INDEX

Adams, John, 190
Agricultural development, 41; Mesilla Valley, 111
Aguilar, Capt. Alphonso, 226
Albuquerque Wool Scouring Mills, 235
Albuquerque founded, 223
Alburquerque, Duke of, documents, 235
Alexander, H. G., rev., Ladd, *The Structure of a Moral Code*, 168
Álvares, Fray Juan, custodian, 216
Álvarez, Manuel, Memoranda book, 235
Amaro, Joaquín, Mexican military reformer, 266
American Valley Co., 34; papers, 241
Anderson, Mrs. Lucius, 196
Andrews, William Henry, papers, 236
Anglo-Spanish separatism, 67
Apache, 300ff; chiefs, 96; culture, 303; government (1870's), 102; location (17th century), 301; reservations, 82; scouts hanged, 99; trade, 301; war (17th century), 301f
Apache-Navaho, 206
Apache Pass Battle, 144ff
Aranda, Fray Antonio de, custodio, 295
Archives, see Territorial, New Mexico, County
Areu, Manuel, papers, 236
Army, Mexican, 261
Army strength, 42
Artesian wells, 28
Articles on New Mexico (1840's), 232
Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe RR, stock yard records, 236
Atkinson, Surveyor General Henry M., 31, 139
Ayer, M. S., 20
Aztec Mining Co., papers, 241

Baker, Celso, 37
Baker, Capt. Charles, 29
Bandelier, Adolph Francis Alphonse, journals, 236; sketches, 236
Barbed wire, 140
Barncastle, John D., 16
Base line, New Mexico, 25
Beiger, W. M., photographs, 236
Belduque, Arroyo, 217
Bender, A. B., rev., Lee, *Three Years Among the Comanches*, 160
Bent, Charles, correspondence, 236
Bergere, A. L., papers, 241
Bergere, Alfred M., scrapbook, 236
Biddle, Col. James, 98
Billy the Kid, 238
Blackmore, Mrs. Thomas H. (Edith Ohl), 199
Blankenship, George, 200
Blazer, Joseph H., business records, 237
Bole, Henri, 200
Bond, Frank, business records, 238
Bond, Marshall, paper re Billy the Kid, 238
Bonham, Joseph H., 34
Bonito, Apache chief, 96
Boston and New Mexico Cattle Co., 34
Bourke, John Gregory, diary, 238
Bradbury, W. C., 198
Breece Lumber and Supply Co., papers, 239
Brevoort, Elias, 134
Brooks, George L., letters, 239
Brunswick, Marcus, records, 246
Bryan, Richard William Dickinson, papers, 239
Burg, Dolores (Oten), photographs, 239
Burg, John Baron, scrapbooks, 239
Bursum, Holm Olaf, papers, 240; public lands, 280

Cabezón Peak, 219
Campbell, Franklin G., 202
Cañada Alamosa Apache reservation, 84
Carlsbad, founding, 193; description 1880's, 199
Carr, General Eugene A., 94
Carson, Kit Jr., 44
Castillo, Capt. Diego del (1650), 293
Catron, Thomas Benton, 31, 200, 240
Cattle (1832) and Jemez pueblo, 246; industry, 31, 38, 131
Cebolleta Mountain, 219
Chacón, Governor Joseph, see Peñuelas
Chaffee, Capt. Adna R., 90
Chafee, Major, 101
Chase, Clarence C., papers, 244
Chaves, Amado, 139
Chaves, José Felipe, papers, 241
Checklist by Colville, 232
Chico Arroyo, 219
Chiricahua Apache, 83, 98
Chivington, John M., memoirs, 144
Church, H. S., 199
Church in New Mexico, 58
Cibicu Apache outbreak, 82
Cíbola, plains of, 300
Cimarrón and Renello Cattle Co., 140
Civil war, 144ff
Clark, Surveyor General John A., 29
Clarke, Charles Francis, papers, 241

Clements, R. E., 28
Clum, John P., 84
Cobb, William H., photographs, 241
Cobre, Sierra del, 217
Collins, J. B., Indian Agent, 100
Colorado Volunteers (1862), 144ff
Colvig, J. L., 101
Colville, Derek, checklist, 232
Comanche Indians, 230
Community feud, 69
Congregational Association, records, 250
Conservation, middle Rio Grande, 248; see George Curry
Consolidated Land, Cattle Raising and Wool Growing Co., 31
Contreras, Abraham, papers, 242
Contreras, Emiliano, papers, 242
Cooperative Store, 113
Corbitt, W. E., 44
Coronado Centennial, records, 249
County Archives, 249
Crosby, W. W., 124
Cross, Price R., papers, 241
Cubero, Gov. Pedro Rodríguez, 213
Cuervo y Valdés, Gov. Francisco, 215f
Cultural change, 53
Curry, Gov. George, and Conservation, 277-284

Daily Picayune (New Orleans), items re New Mexico, 232
Dairy business (1890's), 112
Dargan, Marion, papers, 242
D'Armand, Louis, Spanish language docs., 242
Delano, John, 44
Democratic State Central Committee, papers, 251
Denver, Colo., origin of name, 145
Denver, Gov. James W., 145
De Vargas reconquest, 206f
Depression, influence of, 55
Desert Land Act, 128
Diaz, Albert James, 235
Dillon, Richard C., papers, 243
Ditch association, 59
Documents on New Mexico, 232
Doolittle, James R., letter, 243
Dorsey, S. W., 44
Douglass, William Boone, letters, 243
Downs, Francis, 139
Drigman, E. H., 124
Dubuque Cattle Co., 44, 140
Dunn, John M., land investigator, 44
Dwyer, J. W., 44

Eddy (Carlsbad), 192ff
Eddy, C. B., 187 *passim*
Eddy, H. H., land investigator, 38
Eddy, J. A., 187 *passim*
"El Cerrito, New Mexico: a Changing Village," by Loomis, 53-75
Elkins, S. B., 31
Ellis, Jesse M., 19
Ellison, Samuel, 241
Exposition, Industrial, photographs, 251

Faithists, religious sect, 103
Fall, Albert B., papers, 243; mention, 278
Family, importance of, 55f
Faraone Apache, 206f
Fascism in Mexico, 270
Fauna, New Mexico, 292ff
Fergusson, Erna, manuscripts, 244
Fergusson, Harvey Butler, letters, 244
Fergusson letters re const'l. conv. 1910, 244
Feud, intra-community, 69
Field, Matthew C., sketches on New Mexico, 232
Fisk, Clinton B., quoted on Indian Affairs, 89
Fitzpatrick, George, scrapbook, 244
Fleming, J. W., 49
Floersheim Mercantile Co., records, 245
Flora, New Mexico, 292ff
Forest conservation, see George Curry
French in Mexico, 185
Frontier defence 1700's, 224
Frost, Max, 34; indicted, 138

Galisteo pueblo refounded, 223
Garaicoechea, Father, 214
Gardner, Inspector R. S., 99
Garretson, John W., 25
Geddes, Ezra, rev., O'Dea, *The Mormons*, 156
General Land Office inspectors, 136
Geography, New Mexico, 291ff
George, Apache chief, 96
Giddings, Marsh, 31
Gill, James, 121
Gilpin, Gov. William, 145
Gilrock, O. J., 145
Glorieta Pass Battle, 144ff
Gortner, Robert C., letters, 240
Graft, Indian Affairs, 87 *passim*
Graham, Inspector Robert S., 135
Greene, A. N., land inspector, 51
Greene, Charles W., 193
Griffin, William W., 31
Griggi, Lucinda Vautrey (Mrs. Adrían Woll), 178
Grill, Joseph, 21
Gringos, 68
Gross, Kelly and Co., Inc., records, 245

Guadalajara, Sargento Mayor don Diego de (1650's), 295
Guadalupe, village, 219
Gwyn, John, 38
Gwyn, Thomas, 38

Hagerman, Herbert, biographical data, 242
Hagerman Irrigation and Land Co., 203
Hagerman, James J., 190, 277
Hall, Marvin Harwick, 144
Hammond, Inspector J. H., 88
Hart, H. L., Apache Agent, 84
Hastings, John I., 245
Hastings, L. B., photographs, 245
Hawkins, W. A., 197
Hayt, E. A., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 86
Hentig, Capt. E. C., 95
Hernandez, Benigno C., papers, 241
Hoag, Ezra, 87
Hobart, Surveyor General Edward F., 35
Hobbs, Frank D., land inspector, 38, 139
Hodgin, Charles E., papers, 245
Holguin, Thomas (1710's), 226
Homestead, Pecos Valley, 189
Hopewell, Willard S., papers, 245
Howland, Andrew M., 10, 103
Hudspeth, Andrew Hutchins, letters, 245
Hughes, Sam, 194
Hurtado, General Juan Paes (1710), 227
Hutchinson, W. H., ed., *The Rhodes Reader: Stories of Virgins, Villains, and Varmints* by Eugene Manlove Rhodes, revd., 172
Hyslop, Dr. James, 14

Ilfeld (Charles) Co., records, 246
Indian Affairs, misc. papers, 246
Indian Missionary, 144
Indian Office Administration, 87
Indian "Peace Policy," 82
Indians, New Mexico, 292ff; see tribal name
Indictments for land fraud, 138
Inspectors land frauds, 136
International Industrial Exposition, photographs, 251
Irrigation, 132; management, 59; Mesilla Valley, 113; Pecos Valley, 189; records on Middle Rio Grande, 248

Jefferson Territory, 145
Jemez Pueblo (1832), cattle, 246
Jewett, Isaac E., papers, 241
Johnson, James T., 36
Jones, W. A. F., 282
Julian, Surveyor General George W., 35

Kuntz, General August V., 85

Kehler, Rev. J. H., 145
Keleher, William A., *Violence in Lincoln County, 1869-1881: A New Mexico Item*, rev'd., 162
Kiker, Henry A., papers, 246

Labor Union, Mexico, 271
Ladd, Horatio O., papers, 246
Ladd, John, *The Structure of a Moral Code: A Philisophical Analysis of Ethical Discourse Applied to the Ethics of the Navaho Indians*, rev'd., 168
Ladd, Julia Eirene, photographs, 247
La Huerta, town, 189
Land fraud, 130 *passim*, 286; inspectors, 136; indictments, 138
Land settlement, 41
Las Cruces (1880's), 195
Las Grullas Mountains, 221
Lazelle, Henry Martyn, diary, 247
Lee, Nelson, *Three Years Among the Comanches*, rev'd., 160
Levitica, planned settlement, 115
Lieuwen, Edwin, "Curbing Militarism in Mexico," 247-276
Lieuwen, Edwin, rev., *The Mexican Corrida*, by Simmons, 165
Lincoln County Chronology, 76-80
Liste, Conde de Alba de, Viceroy, 295
Loomis, Charles P., "El Cerrito, New Mexico: A Changing Village," 53-75
Lopez, Capt. Andres (1650's), 295
Lovato, Miguel Antonio, papers, 247
Luckey, Alonzo, 197
Lumber industry, Arizona (1870's), 85; milling, pre-1846, 238
Luna, Solomon, public lands, 278

McBroom, W. F., 139
McBroom, William H., 34
McCreight, W. T., manuscripts, 247
McDowell, Gen. Irvin, 98
McDowell, James O., letters, 247
McGehee, Micajah, journal, 247
McLenathen, C. H., 202
McMillenville, Arizona, 86
McNitt, Frank, *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi*, rev'd., 253
Madrid, Capt. Roque de (1700's), 214, 217 *passim*
Mahan, Inspector J. L., 92
Mansfield, Joseph King Fenno, Military report on New Mexico 1853, 248
Marriage, 57
Martín, Blas (1710), 227
Martín, Capt. Hernan (1650), 293
Martínez, Capt. Felix (1710's), 229

Martínez, Jose, Spanish language docs., 248
Martínez, Jose Ma., 44
Medicine Man, Apache, 94
Mesilla Valley Agriculture, 111
Methodist Episcopal church, mission work, 144
Mexico, agrarian reform, 271f; army expense, 275; army reform, 264; militarism, 257-276; politics, 1830'sff, 178f; public works, 274; revolutions, 257ff
Middle Rio Grande Valley Association, records, 248
Militarism in Mexico, 257-276
Military defense (1700's), 223
Military report on New Mexico (1853), 248
Miller, Edward, 139
Miller, Ruth, papers, 248
Mina, General Francisco Xavier, and Mexican independence, 178
Mining, Arizona (1870's), 85
Miranda, Fray Antonio, 214
Missionaries, New Mexico, 293
Mogollón, Gov. don Juan Ygnacio Flores, 226
Montoia, Antonio, 225
Mormon Migration, Arizona, 93
Mormons vs. Navaho Indians, 246
Morris, J. B., 197
Moya, Marcelino, 37

Naduski, Apache chief, 86
Nance, Joseph Milton, "Adrian Woll: Frenchman in the Mexican Military Service," 177-186
Nantiatish, Apache chief, 96
Navaho, land, 218; description, 229
Navaho-Spanish wars, 205-231
Navahos vs. Mormons, 246
Neifer, Grover W., 124
Newbrough, Dr. John Ballou, biographical sketch, 1
Newbrough, Mrs. J. B., 4, 9
Newbrough, Miss Justine, 124
Newbrough-Howland, Mrs. Frances Van de Water, portrait, 18
New Mexico Archives, 248; base line, 25; church, 58; costs of settlement, 293; customs, 56; description, 232; description (1660's), 289; geography, 291ff; 1680's, 205; Indians, 292ff; land frauds, 280; missionaries, 293; politics, 251; public lands, 278ff; state officials (photographs), 251
New Mexico and Kentucky Land and Stock Co., 34, 139
New Mexico Land and Livestock, 34
Nocadelklinny, Apache leader, 94
Nudism, 107
Nymeyer, Mrs. B. A., 193

Oahspe, 8ff
O'Dea, Thomas F., *The Mormons*, rev'd., 156
Ogle, Ralph H., "The Apache and the Government—1870's," 81-102
Ohl, Miss Edith (Mrs. T. H. Blackmore), 199
Ojeda, Bartholomé de, Sia pueblo, 210
Ojo del Espíritu Santo Co., papers, 251
Otero, Miguel A., biographical data, 242; papers, 241, 251; public lands, 279f
Owen, Frank, papers, 241

Palo Blanco Cattle Co., 44
Patten, Otis, papers, 251
Patterson, Mattie, 21
Patterson, Nellie, 121
Pecos pueblo, trade, 301
Pecos, Texas (1880's), 196
Pecos Irrigation and Improvement Co., 190
Pedernal Mountain, 222
Pedro, Apache chief, 96
Pelham, Surveyor General William, 24
Peñalosa, Don Diego de, 286
Peñuela, Gov. Admiral don Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Márques de la, 224
Peralta, Felipe, papers, 242
Photographs, historical, 235ff
Pierce, R. H., 199
Pinchot, Gifford, 282
Politics, see T. B. Catron papers
Pope, Capt. John, 28
Porter, H. M., 44
Portsmouth Cattle Co., 44
Posada, Fray Alonso, "Report . . .," ed. by Tyler and Taylor, 285-314
Poteet, E. R., 189, 200
Potter, Albert F., 281
Prairie Cattle Co., 31
Price, Hiram, Commissioner Indian affairs, 97
Proudfit, Surveyor General James K., 30
Public Domain, 24; fencing, 140; utilization, 140
Public lands and politics, 277
Puebloland (1680's), 205
Pullen, Surveyor General Clarence, 34

Quivira, see S. Lyman Tyler

Railroad development, 133
Rancho Pajarito, records, 246
Reed, W. W., 202
Reeve, Frank D., "Navaho-Spanish Wars 1680-1720," 205-231
Revolution, Mexico, 257ff

Rhodes, Eugene Manlove, *The Rhodes Reader* . . ., ed. by Hutchinson, rev'd., 172
Richard Wetherill: Anasazi by McNitt, rev'd., 253
Richardson, Elmo R., "George Curry and The Politics of Forest Conservation in New Mexico," 277-284
Roberts, Frank H. H. Jr., rev., McNitt, *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi*, 253
Roberts, James E., Apache agent, 82
Rodey, Shandon B., biographical data, 242
Rodríquez, General Nicolás, Mexican fascist, 270
Rural: electrification, 64; health, 61; improvement, 61; politics, 73; population decline, 55; sanitation, 61; urban linkage, 65

Samaniego, Capt. don Juan de, governor, 295
San Carlos Apache Reservation, 82
San Felipe vs. U. S., 246
San Mateo Cattle Co., 139
Santo Domingo vs. U. S., 246
Schlipmann, Ray, 124
Serna, Capt. Cristóbal de la, 227
Settlements, White Mountain (1885), 27
Shalam, land of, 1-23, 103-127
Sheep losses, 192
Shepherd, Walter Sigley (?), 21
Shepherd, Walter Sigler (?), 121
Sherman, Gen. William Tecumseh, 97
Shields, E. G., 194
Sillem, Phil, 201
Simmons, Merle E., *The Mexican Corrida as a Source for Interpretative Study of Modern Mexico*, rev'd., 165
Simons, Katherine, rev. Hutchinson, ed., *The Rhodes Reader* . . . by Rhodes, 172
Slaughter, Wm. B., 34
Slough, John P., 145
Smerdon, George, 87
Smith, Thomas, 139
Sonnichsen, C. L., *Ten Texas Feuds*, rev'd., 252
Southwestern Lumber and Railway Co., minute books, 241
Spanish-Anglo separatism, 67
Spanish colonial militarism, 258
Spanish-Navaho wars, 205-231
Special collections, University of New Mexico, 232
Spencer, Surveyor General T. Rush, 29
Spiritualism, 7
Springer Land Association, 132
Stage coach, 196f
Statehood, 280
Steele, Gov. Robert W., 145 note
Stephens, Joseph S., 187
Stevens, George H., Indian trader, 86
Stewart, O. O., 200
Stoes, Mrs. K. D., "The Land of Shalam," 1-23, 103-127; (Mrs. Henry), death, 154
"Sunshine State," 49
Surveys, land, 27
Sweeney, Martin, 86
Sweet, Frances Van de Water (Mrs. J. B. Newbrough), 9

Tafoia, Antonio, 221
Tanner, Dr. Henry S., 19, 106
Tansill, R. W., 199
Tappan, Col. S. F., 145
Taylor, H. Darrel, see S. Lyman Tyler
Taylor, J. S., 44
Teguayo, see S. Lyman Tyler
Temple, E. J., 44
Ten Texas Feuds by Sonnichsen, rev'd., 252
Territorial archives, 248
Territorial conservation commission, 282
Texas independence, 179f; Mexican invasion (1836), 179; Mexican invasion (1842), 181
The Mexican Corrida . . . by Simmons, rev'd., 165
The Mormons by O'Dea, rev'd., 156
The Structure of a Moral Code . . . *Ethics of the Navaho Indians* by Ladd, rev'd., 168
Thomson, John H., 34
Three Years Among the Comanches by Lee, rev'd., 160
Tiffany, J. C., 91
Toledano, Lombardo, Mexican labor leader, 271
Tornado (1880's), 202
Tracy, Francis G. Sr., "Pecos Valley Pioneers," 187-204
Trujillo, José (1758), lands, 246
Tulley, Pinckney R., 36
Turnbull, John, 4
Turnbull, Rachel (Mrs. J. B. Newbrough), 4
Tupatú, Luis, 209
Tyler, S. Lyman and H. Darrel Taylor, eds., "The Report of Fray Alonso de Posada in Relation to Quivira and Teguayo," 285-314

Ulibarri, Antonio de, 217
U. S. vs. Santo Domingo and San Felipe, 246
University of New Mexico, special collections, 235
Urban-rural linkage, 65
Ute Indians (17th century), 230, 302

Vaca, Capt. Alonso, 298
Vandever, Inspector William, 86
Vegetarian, 106
Vendome, Hotel (El Paso), 194
Vermont and Rio Grande Cattle Co., 45
Vigil, Capt. Donáciano, 243
Violence in Lincoln County . . . by Keleher, rev'd., 162
Vivo, Simon, 139
Voss, James, 49

Waddingham, Wilson, 47
Waddingham Ranch, records, 246
Wall, Mrs. Adrian (Lucinda Vautrey Griggi), 178
Wallace, William S., rev., Keleher, *Violence in Lincoln County* . . ., 162
Warren, Henry L., 34
Watkins, Inspector E. C., 86
Watson, O. C., 241
Webb, R. W., 139
Wells, artesian, 28
Westermeier, Clifford P., rev., Sonnichsen, *Ten Texas Feuds*, 252
Westphall, Victor, "The Public Domain in New Mexico 1854-1891," 24-52, 128-143
Whetteplace, Mark, 124
White Mountain Apache reservation, 82
Wicksell, Dr. Gustave Percival, 20
Wilbar, Surveyor General Alexander P., 28
Willcox, General O. B., 94
Willow Lake, 192
Witt, G. W., 190
Woll, Adrian, in Mexico, 177-186
Woodward, Miss Ida, 196
Wool Scouring, 235

Zarzuela scores, 236

PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

OLD SANTA FE (published quarterly 1913-1916). Issues available are Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. II, Nos. 5, 6; Vol. III, Nos. 11, 12.
Each No. $1.00

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW (published quarterly 1926 to date).
Vol. I, No. 1 out of print; Nos. 2, 3, 4. Each No. $2.00
Vol. II, No. 1, out of print.
Vol. XXIII, Nos. 2, 3 out of print.
Vol. III to current year, per volume $4.00

COMPREHENSIVE INDEX, Vols. I-XV $2.00

COMPREHENSIVE INDEX, Vols. XVI-XXX $2.50

REPRINTS from the HISTORICAL REVIEW, each $0.25
Titles sent on request. Some studies which appeared serially may be had as:

PUBLICATIONS IN HISTORY

Vol. I—Fray Marcos de Niza's *Relación*, Span. and Eng. ed. by Percy M. Baldwin. 59 pp. (1926) $1.00

Vol. III—New Mexico and the Great War, ed. by L. B. Bloom. 166 pp., index. (1927) $1.50

Vol. V—Barreiro's *Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico* (1832), ed. by L. B. Bloom. 60 pp., ill. (1928) $5.00

Vol. VI—Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies. Ruth Kerns Barber. 135 pp., bibliog., index. (1932) $1.50

Vol. XII—New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861. L. M. Ganaway. 140 pp., ill., bibliog., index. (1944). $2.00; in cloth $2.50

Vol. XIII—Black-Robed Justice. Arie W. Poldervaart. 234 pp., bibliog., index. (1948) Cloth $3.50

Vol. XIV—Albert Franklin Banta: Arizona Pioneer, ed. by Frank D. Reeve. 143 pp., ill., index. (1953) $2.25

Vol. XV—Bishop Tamaron's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760, ed. by Eleanor B. Adams. 112 pp., ill., index. (1954) $2.50

Address orders to

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW
Box 1727, Santa Fe, New Mexico